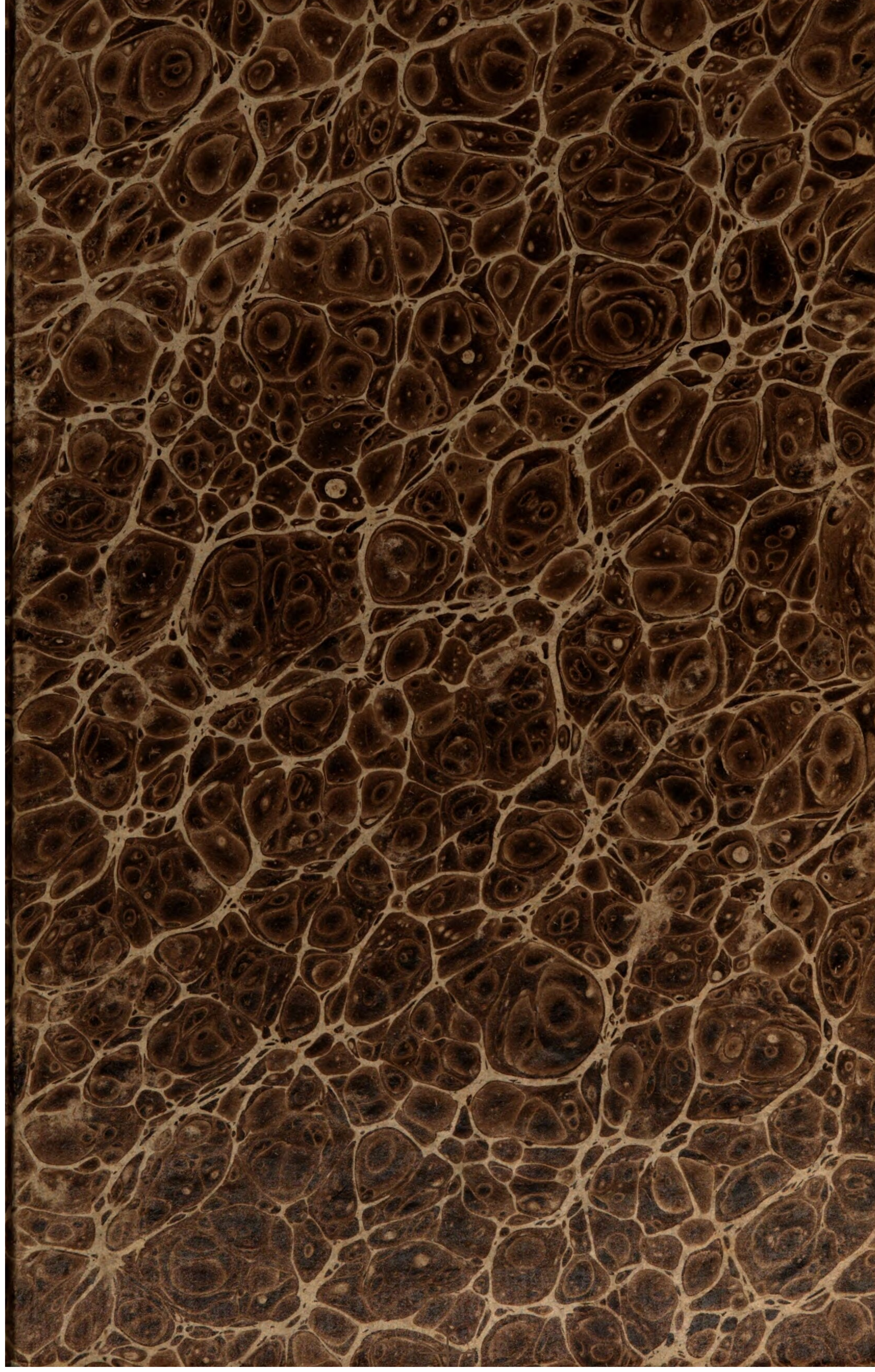




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THE
WORKS
OF
XENOPHON.

VOL. I.

THE
WORKS
OF
XENOPHON.

VOL. I.



Engraved by H. Moses.

THE
WORKS
OF
XENOPHON.

Translated from the Greek.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

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THE
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THE



EXPEDITION OF CYRUS

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS
INTO PERSIA,
AND
THE RETREAT
OF
THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM XENOPHON,
WITH
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY
EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO. TEMPLE
OF THE MUSES, FINSBURY SQUARE.

1811.

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THE

PREFACE.

THERE is not, possibly, a more difficult, a more discouraging, or a more useful task, than that of a translator ; when I say this, I mean one who writes a translation, not a paraphrase, under which name most modern performances of this kind ought to be comprehended. It was very judiciously observed by Mr. Pope, in the Preface to his incomparable Translation of the Iliad, that, “ There have not been more men misled in former times by a servile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours, by a chimerical insolent hope of raising and improving their author.” If these liberties are not to be allowed in translating poets, much less ought they to be indulged in translating historians. These paraphrasts, it seems, are men of too exalted a genius to stoop to a literal translation ; they must improve their author, by adding something, which he ignorantly omitted, or by omitting something, which he vainly thought material ; by this means, the readers, who cannot compare the translation with the original

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(for whose use chiefly translations are intended), have either some wretched modern interpolation imposed on them for the thoughts of an ancient, or lose some of the author's thoughts, which the title of a translation gave them a right to. But these gentlemen have another reason for paraphrasing, instead of translating, if they will own it; they find less difficulty in clothing modern thoughts in a modern dress, than in making those of an ancient appear gracefully in a language so very different from that in which they were conceived: for it is a work of greater difficulty, than those, who have not experienced it, can possibly imagine, to give an appearance of novelty to antiquity, to give light to those things, which the ignorance of ancient customs and manners has rendered obscure, to give beauty to those that are obsolete, to give credibility to those that are doubtful, and, above all, to give to a copy the air of an original. Yet all these, however difficult, belong to the province of a translator; these are embellishments which he is to acquire if he can; but his first duty is fidelity to his author; without that, his performance is not what it professes to be, and in that case, these embellishments, like royal robes upon the back of an impostor, are rather a mockery than an ornament. If to the most exact fidelity, a translator joins beauty of language, strength of expression, and, above all, perspicuity; and if, with these, he has

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genius enough to animate his translation with the spirit of his original, he then performs every duty belonging to his profession. I am far from thinking that my translation of Xenophon has all these perfections; on the contrary, I am sensible that it is in this, as in most other things, much easier to point out a duty than to fulfil it. But I should be very much wanting in that respect which every author owes to the public, if I did not assure them, that no endeavours, no application, no labour, has been spared to render this translation fit to be laid before them. If the difficulties a translator meets with are considerable, the discouragements he labours under are no less so. The great number of anonymous translations, the great number of translations of translations, for which we in England are famous; but above all, some very unfortunate versions of lives from the Greek into our language, to which the names of authors justly admired for every other kind of writing are prefixed, shew the small account the world has reason to make of translations, as well as the difficulty of succeeding in them. These considerations, I say, are powerful discouragements to the undertaking any thing of this kind; but if these are not sufficient to deter, let it be considered how unjust a way of thinking prevails with most readers: if there is any merit in the performance, it is placed to the account of the author; and if any fault, to that of the translator.

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Yet it should seem that translations might deserve more indulgence, when it is considered how many persons of great parts, who happen to be unacquainted with the learned languages, particularly with Greek, would, without that assistance, be deprived of the satisfaction and improvement of reading ancient histories, written by ancient authors; for, I dare say, those, who are conversant with both, will allow that those histories are generally so much disfigured and distorted by modern relators, as scarce to be known: an instance of this we see in our countryman, Sir Walter Raleigh, who has, in my opinion, treated ancient history with more strength and dignity, than any modern writer of any other nation; and yet, let his account of the battle of Cannæ, though a military subject, and therefore particularly within his province; let his account, I say, of that battle be compared with the relation given of it by Polybius, from whom he took it, and what I have advanced will plainly appear. When I say this, I do not mean to insinuate that Sir Walter Raleigh was inferior, either as a soldier or a scholar, to Polybius; for I am thoroughly convinced of his great abilities—his fate alone is a proof of them: the only disadvantage he lay under was, in being less acquainted with the manners, customs, and discipline of the two contending nations at Cannæ; so that I am confident, whoever reads the two relations of that battle, will

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agree with me, that a close translation of the account given of it by Polybius, would have been much more satisfactory and instructive to those who cannot read the original.

The reader will observe, that I have, in the course of my notes, principally taken notice of three translations, that of Leunclavius, of Hutchinson, and of D'Ablancourt; there is besides an Italian translation of the Expedition of Cyrus, by Gandini, which I have occasionally consulted; but as in cases of difficulty I found no assistance from thence, and as I thought a criticism upon a translation in a third language would encumber the notes, I have chosen to take no notice of it. I am also sensible there is a Latin translation of this history by Stephens, which I have mentioned as occasion required. But I cannot part with this subject without taking particular notice of Mr. Hutchinson's edition of the Expedition of Cyrus, which I look upon to be the best edited book in the world, except the Cyropædia, published by the same author: if I have sometimes differed from him, I hope it will be thought I have supported my opinion in such a manner that he will have no just reason to find fault with me. I have observed the same conduct with regard to D'Ablancourt, the looseness of whose translation I have been frequently obliged to condemn; on the other side, it will be allowed that I have often commended

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him; though I cannot carry my commendations of him so far as his countryman, Menage, who says that D'Ablancourt has surpassed even Xenophon himself in the elegance of his style. Another celebrated French critic, Balzac, says, that "D'Ablancourt's translation of Xenophon would be incomparable if he had placed nothing before it; but that his Preface is so fine, that it obscures the finest things that can be compared to it;" he adds, that "if it were possible for D'Ablancourt to have lived in the time of Cyrus the Younger, and for Xenophon to be now alive, the Prefaces of D'Ablancourt would deserve to be translated by Xenophon." The reader will observe, that this forced style was in fashion among the French in Balzac's time, that is, in the infancy of their taste; the writers of that age seem to have imposed an obligation upon themselves of being for ever witty; they were often so, but that was not enough; this eternal straining after wit, obliged them many times to have recourse to forced turns of thought, and sometimes to what their language calls "Phœbús," that is, shining expressions that seem to signify something. After the reader has compared the many passages I have taken the liberty to censure in D'Ablancourt with the original, he will be able to judge how far he has surpassed Xenophon in the elegance of his style, and how far, according to the supposition of Balzac, his works might de-

PREFACE.

serve to be translated by Xenophon. But there is an old English translation of the Expedition of Cyrus, by John Bingham, printed in 1623, and dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Artillery Company. The first notice I had of this translation, was by a note of Hutchinson, about the middle of the last book ; he also mentions it towards the end of the same book, where Xenophon says, Gongylus marched out to the assistance of the Greeks, *βίᾳ τῆς Μητρὸς*, upon which occasion, Hutchinson says, "*Vis phraseos omnino latuit versionis Anglicanæ Authorem ;*" and, indeed, he had great reason to say so, for, upon looking into Bingham's translation, I find he has rendered that passage, "By compulsion of his mother," whereas he should have said, "Against his mother's will," in which sense all the other translators have rendered it. I do not remember that Hutchinson has taken any notice of this translation but upon these two occasions. Finding, therefore, by Hutchinson's note before mentioned, when I had not more than half the last book remaining to complete my translation, that there was an old English version of the Expedition, I employed several of the most eminent booksellers in town to get it for me, but all in vain, for none of them could find it, neither would they be persuaded there was any such book extant, till I referred them to that note of Hutchinson ; however, at last I got a sight of it from a public library.

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Upon comparing it with the original, I found the author was a man of some learning, from whence I conclude that he must have made use of some very faulty edition; otherwise, it is not possible that a man of learning (for such he really seems to have been) should ever have been guilty of so many mistakes as are to be met with through the whole course of his translation; as to his style, it seems to be, at least, a century older than that in which he writ. There is, in the fourth book, a conversation between Xenophon and Cheirisophus, in which they rally one another upon the art of stealing, so much practised by their respective countries; the foundation of which raillery is the advice given by Xenophon to “steal a march to some part of a mountain they were to pass.” As the spirit of raillery is, of all others, the most likely to be lost in a translation, for that reason raillery itself is the last thing one would choose to translate, if it did not necessarily come in one’s way; upon this occasion, therefore, I was in hopes of receiving some assistance from the old English translation, which I should both have made use of and acknowledged very readily; but, upon examination, I found this passage translated in the following manner: “It seemeth to me not impossible to steal some part or other of the hill.” After this, I dare say it will easily be concluded, that I could entertain no great hopes of any assistance from that quarter.

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Many ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, and particularly those who were themselves fine writers, as well as judicious critics, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Tully, have celebrated the beauty of our author's style, his perspicuity, and that peculiar sweetness in his composition, which made his writings be called the language of the Muses : the latter goes so far as to say, that Lucullus, being sent to make war upon Mithridates, which was no easy province, and being unacquainted with the duty of a general, acquired, by reading the Expedition of Cyrus, so great a knowledge in the art of war, as to owe his victories against that prince to the information he received from it. However this may be, we find by the Commentaries of Cæsar, that he often made use of the same dispositions against the Gauls, which Xenophon had employed, with so great success, against the Persians : but, what is much more for the credit of our author, it is obvious, that the Expedition of Cyrus was the model of these Commentaries ; the same elegance, the same clearness of expression, the same unaffected grace, are the distinguishing characters of both ; and, possibly, the Greek and Latin languages have nothing in their kind more perfect than these two admirable performances. I am sensible that all commendations bestowed upon the original, tend to expose the translation to censure, which I ought not, in pru-

PREFACE.

dence, wantonly to solicit; but I was willing, if I could not do justice to Xenophon by translating him, to endeavour to do it, at least, by commending him: this may be thought a small amends for the former; however, the determination of this question must be left to the voice of the people, who are still sovereigns in this, and who, as they were formerly remarkable for their justice in deciding the fate of mankind, are still not less so in determining that of their productions; so that, to use the words of my ancestor*, in the Preface to his Glossary, I submit my labours and errors to the public.

* Sir Henry Spelman, who was great-great-grandfather to the author.

A SHORT

ACCOUNT OF XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was an Athenian; his father's name Gryllus. All that we know of him till he attended Cyrus in his expedition, is, that he was a disciple of Socrates. If, to have been a disciple of that great man was an instance of his good fortune, the improvement he made of that education is an instance of his merit; and, indeed, nothing less than the happiest disposition, the best education, and the greatest improvement of both, could render Xenophon that universal man we find him in his writing: his *Cyropædia* shews him to have possessed, in a sovereign degree, the art of government; his *Expedition of Cyrus* shews him a complete general; his *History*, an entertaining, an instructive, and a faithful historian; his *Panegyric of Agesilaus*, an orator; and his *Treatise of Hunting*, a sportsman; his *Apology for Socrates*, and the account he gives of his manner of conversing, shew that he was both a friend, and a philosopher; and all of them, that he was a good man. This appears remarkably in his preserv-

ing Byzantium from being plundered by his soldiers, who, having gained no other reward of the dangerous expedition they had been engaged in, but their preservation, were not only strongly tempted to plunder that town by the hope of making their fortunes, but justly provoked to it by the disingenuous behaviour of the Lacedæmonian governor; yet these two lawless passions, avarice and revenge, the authority and eloquence of Xenophon quite subdued.

As Cyrus had assisted the Lacedæmonians in their war against the Athenians, the latter looked upon Xenophon's attachment to that prince as criminal, and banished him for engaging in his service. After this, Xenophon attended Agesilaus, when he was sent for by the Lacedæmonians with his army from Asia; where, the success of his arms gave something more than uneasiness to Artaxerxes, who, not without cause, began to fear the same fate from Agesilaus, which his successor, Darius, afterwards found from Alexander; but the former, by corrupting the Greek cities, and, by that means, engaging them to make war upon the Lacedæmonians, suspended the fate of Persia for a time :---But, in all evils, relief, obtained by corruption, is only a respite, not a cure; for, when Alexander invaded Persia, the same low arts were again practised by Darius to recall him from Asia by a diversion in Greece; but, these proving ineffectual, the Persians, by trusting more to the vices of their enemies, than to their own virtue, became an easy conquest. Agesilaus, soon after he returned, fought the battle of Coronea, where, though wounded, he defeated the Thebans, and their allies :

at this battle Xenophon was present. After that, he retired to Scilus, where he passed his time in reading, the conversation of his friends, sporting, and writing history. But, this place being over-run by the Eleans, in whose neighbourhood it was, Xenophon went to Corinth, where he lived till the first year of the 105th Olympiad, when he died in the ninety-first year of his age :---so that, he must have been about fifty years of age at the time of the expedition of Cyrus, which was the fourth year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, just forty years before. I am sensible some learned men are of opinion that he was not so old at the time of the expedition, though I see no reason to disbelieve Lucian in this particular, who says that Xenophon was above ninety years of age when he died. However, this is beyond all dispute, that he lived till after the battle of Mantinea, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, was in the second year of the 104th Olympiad, because he closes his History of the Affairs of Greece with the account of that battle : in which account it is very extraordinary that he should say nothing more of the most remarkable incident in it, I mean the death of Epaminondas, than that he fell in the action ; but this may be accounted for by that modesty, which was the distinguishing character of our author, because it is well known that Epaminondas fell by the hand of Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, who was sent by his father to the assistance of the Athenians. It will easily be imagined that a general, at the head of a victorious army, then pursuing his victory, could not be attacked, much less slain, without manifest danger

to the daring enemy, who should attempt it. This Gryllus found, for he had no sooner lanced the fatal dart, which deprived Thebes of the greatest general of that age, but he was cut to pieces by the friends of Epaminondas. When the news of his death was brought to Xenophon, he said no more than that he knew he was mortal.

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INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING seems to contribute more to the forming a clear idea of any transaction in history, than a previous knowledge both of the persons, and things that gave birth to it; for, when the reader is once acquainted with the characters and views of the principal actors, and with what has been done in consequence of both, the scene unfolds in so natural a manner, that the most extraordinary events in history are looked upon in the same light as the most surprising phenomena in philosophy; that is, like these, they are found to be the necessary result of such principles as the all-wise Creator has thought fit to establish; and, like these, are as little to be wondered at, and as easy to be accounted for. In order, therefore, to enable the reader to view the consequences in their principles, and contemplate the embryo plant in its seed, I shall lay before him a short account of the most remarkable transactions that seem to have had an immediate influence upon that, which Xenophon has chosen for the subject of his history. The affairs of the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, had been, for some time before the expedition of Cyrus, so much interwoven with those

of Persia, that all three seem to have had a share in every remarkable event that happened to each of them. Thus the supplies of money with which Lysander, the Lacedæmonian general, was furnished by Cyrus, enabled him to carry on the war against the Athenians with advantage, and, at last, to give them a decisive blow at Ægos Potamos, which ended in the taking of Athens; and, on the other side, the assistance which Cyrus received from the Lacedæmonians, both by sea and land, in return, encouraged him to an attempt of no less moment than the dethroning his brother Artaxerxes. The several steps which led to this enterprize, equally great, unfortunate, and unwarrantable, shall be taken notice of in the order of time in which they happened. In this short survey, I shall avoid entering into any chronological discussions, which often puzzle, seldom inform, and never entertain, but confine myself almost entirely to Diodorus Siculus, who, besides the character he has deservedly obtained for fidelity and exactness, had the advantage of living many centuries nearer the transactions he recounts, than those who differ from him in chronology, as well as that of consulting many authors, whose works are unfortunately lost to modern ages. Neither shall I go further back than the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians, which happened in the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, and put an end to the Peloponnesian war, after it had lasted twenty-seven years. The same year died Darius Ochus, king of Persia, after a reign of nineteen years, and left his kingdom to his eldest son Artaxerxes, who was born before he was king. Parysatis, his queen, the most

artful of all women, and mother both to Artaxerxes and Cyrus, tried the power of every practice to engage Darius to imitate his predecessor, Darius Hystaspes, who preferred his son Xerxes, born after his accession, to Artobazanes, who was born before it; but all her efforts proved ineffectual, and Artaxerxes succeeded his father without opposition. If the arts of Parysatis could not prevail with Darius to set his eldest son aside, her fondness for Cyrus not only encouraged him to form a design against his brother's life, but rescued him, if not from disgrace, at least from punishment, when it was discovered. The next year, which was the first of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, there happened an eclipse of the sun, which is only taken notice of, as it is no small satisfaction to find history, upon this occasion, supported by astronomy, by which it appears that the eclipse of the sun, mentioned by Xenophon in his Greek History, to have happened this year, fell out on the third day of September, upon a Friday, at twelve minutes after nine o'clock. The same year Cyrus returned to his government in Asia Minor, with a mind more exasperated at his disgrace than terrified with his danger, and immediately resolved to repair the disappointment of private treason by open hostility; to this purpose, he addresses himself to the Lacedæmonians, who cheerfully espouse his quarrel. This intercourse between Cyrus and the Lacedæmonians, could not be carried on so privately, as to escape the notice of Alcibiades, who, being banished from his country, was now retired to Grynium, a strong place in Phrygia, appointed by Pharnabazus for his residence, to whom he im-

mediately communicates his intelligence, desiring him, at the same time, to appoint proper persons to conduct him to court, that he might give Artaxerxes an account of the whole : but Pharnabazus, being willing to have the merit of a discovery of so great importance, sent persons of trust to Artaxerxes to lay the information before him. Alcibiades, suspecting his design, left Pharnabazus, with an intention to apply himself to the satrape of Paphlagonia, to the end that, through him, he might be recommended to Artaxerxes ; but Pharnabazus, fearing the king should, by this means, be informed of the truth, prevented his design, by ordering him to be put to death.

The next year, that is, the second of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, brings Clearchus upon the stage ; he makes so considerable a figure in the ensuing history, both by his conduct and his fate, that the incident we are going to speak of, which happened just before he engaged himself in the service of Cyrus, and which seems to have driven him into it, must not be omitted. It seems, the inhabitants of Byzantium being engaged in factions, the Lacedæmonians sent Clearchus to compose their differences, who uniting them in nothing but their complaints against himself, the ephori recalled him : but he refusing to obey their orders, they sent Panthœdas, with some troops, to force him to a submission. With these he defeated Clearchus, and obliged him to fly to Ionia ; here he was received with open arms by Cyrus, to whom his experience in military affairs, his enterprizing genius, and, possibly, even his rebellion, were, at this juncture, no small recommenda-

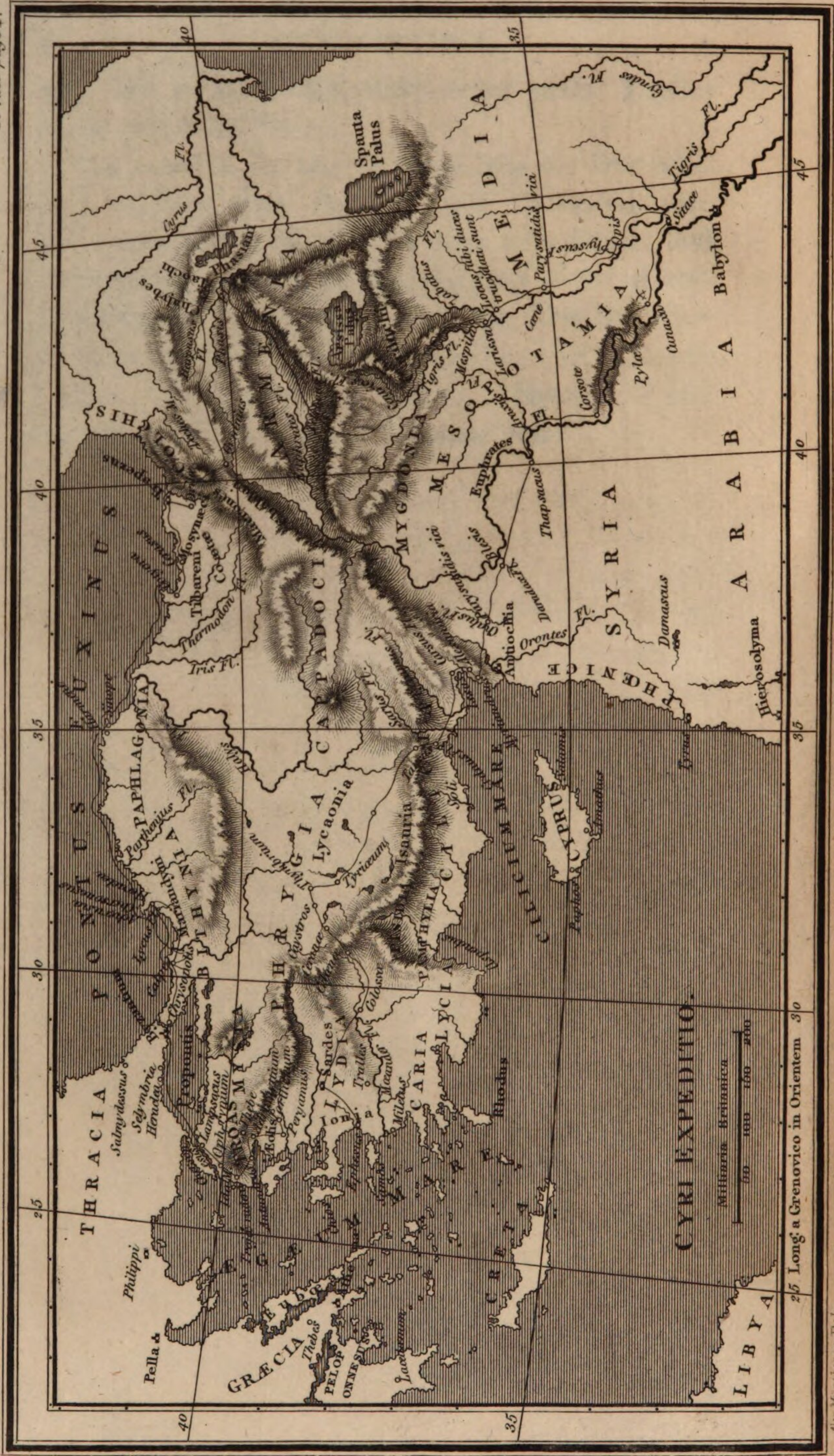
tions---since he could not but look upon a man, who had dared to fly in the face of his country, as a proper person to bear command in an army which he was raising to invade his own. It was upon this occasion that Cyrus gave him the ten thousand darics mentioned by Xenophon, with which he levied a considerable number of forces, and engaged them in his service.

The next year Diodorus Siculus passes over without taking notice of any thing relating to this expedition, so we may conclude that Cyrus employed it in continuing his preparations under various pretences, particularly since we find him in the field early the year after. Sardes, the capital of Lydia, and, formerly, the residence of its kings, was the place of general rendezvous; from hence Cyrus marched at the head of about 12,800 Greeks, and 100,000 Barbarians, to dispute the crown of Persia with his brother Artaxerxes; and from hence, Xenophon, who came to him to Sardes, begins his history of this expedition.

The year which decided this great contest, was the 783d year from the taking of Troy; the 351st of Rome, Publius Cornelius, Cæsar Fabius, Spurius Nautius, Caius Valerius, Marcius Sergius, and Junius Lucullus; being military tribunes;---and the fourth year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, Exænetus being archon at Athens. This expedition has, I find, been thought of consequence enough to be taken notice of in the Arundel Marble, the 80th æra of which has these ¹ words---“From the time those who ascended with Cyrus returned, and Socrates, the philosopher, died, being seventy years of

age, one hundred and thirty-seven years, Laches being archon at Athens."

The year the Greeks returned was the year after they marched from Sardes, since Xenophon says they were fifteen months in their expedition, and consequently, that year was the first of the ninety-fifth Olympiad; the authority of the Arundel Marble is supported by Diodorus Siculus, who says that Laches was archon that year at Athens, and that Socrates was put to death the same year.



THE
EXPEDITION² OF CYRUS.

TRANSLATED FROM XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

CYRUS was the youngest son of Darius,³ by Parysatis, and brother to Artaxerxes. Darius being sick, and apprehensive of his approaching end, desired both his sons might attend him. Artaxerxes the eldest being then present, he sent for Cyrus from his government with which he⁴ had invested him, as⁵ satrape, having also appointed him general of all the people, who assemble in the plain of Castolus. Hereupon, Cyrus came to court, accompanied by Tissaphernes as his friend, and attended by three hundred⁶ heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of Xenias of Parrhasie.

After the death of Darius, and the accession of Artaxerxes,⁷ Tissaphernes accuses Cyrus to his brother of treason. Artaxerxes gives credit to the accusation, and orders Cyrus to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death; but his mother having saved him by her intercession, sends him

back to his government. Cyrus, as soon as he left the court after this danger and disgrace, ⁸ deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his brother, but if possible reign in his place. In this he was ⁹ supported by his mother Parysatis, who had a greater love for Cyrus than for the king Artaxerxes; and when any persons belonging to the court resorted to him, he sent them back more disposed to favour him than the king. Besides, he took so great care of the Barbarians who were with him, as to render them both good soldiers, and affectionate to his service: he also levied an army of Greeks with all possible secrecy, that he might find the king in no degree prepared to resist him. And whenever he recruited the garrisons that were dispersed in the several cities under his command, he ordered each of their officers to enlist as many Peloponnesians as possible, and of those the best men they could get, under pretence that Tissaphernes had a design upon those cities. For the cities of Ionia formerly belonged to Tissaphernes, having been given to him by the king, but at that time they had all revolted from him to Cyrus, except ¹⁰ Miletus; the inhabitants of which being engaged in the same design, and Tissaphernes having early notice of their intentions, put some of them to death, and banished others; these Cyrus received, and raising an army besieged Miletus both by sea and land, endeavouring to restore the banished citizens: this he made another pretence for raising an army; and sending to the king, he desired, that, as he was his brother, he might have the command of these cities rather than Tissaphernes. In this also he was assisted by his

mother; so that the king was not sensible of the design that was formed against him, but looking upon these preparations as directed against Tissaphernes, was under no concern at their making war upon one another; for Cyrus sent the king all the taxes that were raised in those cities, which had been under the government of Tissaphernes.

He had also another army raised for him in the Chersonesus, over against Abydus, in this manner. There was a banished Lacedæmonian, his name Clearchus; Cyrus, becoming acquainted with him, ¹¹admired the man, and made him a present of ten thousand ¹²daricks; with which money Clearchus raised an army, and, marching out of the Chersonesus, made war upon the Thracians, who inhabit above the Hellespont, which, being a great advantage to the Greeks, induced the cities upon the Hellespont to subsist his forces with greater cheerfulness. Thus was this army also secretly maintained for his service. Aristippus of Thessaly, between whom and Cyrus there was an intercourse of ¹³hospitality, being oppressed by a contrary faction at home, came to him, demanding two thousand mercenaries, and their pay for three months, in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his adversaries. Cyrus granted him four thousand men, and six months' pay, desiring him to come to no terms with his adversaries without ¹⁴consulting him. In this manner the army in Thessaly was also privately maintained for his use. At the same time he ordered Proxenus, the Bœotian, a friend of his, to attend him with all the men he could raise, giving it out that he designed to make war upon the ¹⁵Pisidians, who, it was said, infested his country.

He then ordered Sophænetus the Stymphalian, and Socrates the Achaian, with whom also he had an intercourse of hospitality, to come to him with as many men as they could raise, pretending to make war upon Tissaphernes, in conjunction with the banished Milesians. These too obeyed his commands.

Having now determined to march into the Upper Asia, he pretended his design was to drive the Pisidians entirely out of the country; and, as against them, he assembles there both his Barbarian and Greek forces; commanding at the same time Clearchus with all his troops to attend him, and Aristippus to come to an agreement with his fellow citizens, and send his army to him. He also appointed Xenias the Arcadian, who had the command of the mercenaries in the several cities, to come to him with all his men, leaving only sufficient garrisons in the citadels. He next ordered all the troops that were employed in the siege of Miletus, together with the banished citizens, to join him, ¹⁶engaging to the last, if his expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his arms, till he had restored them. These cheerfully obeyed him (for they gave credit to what he said), and, taking their arms with them, came to Sardes. Xenias also came thither with the garrisons he had drawn out of the cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-armed men. Proxenus brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred ¹⁷light-armed men; Sophænetus, the Stymphalian, a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates, the Achaian, about five hundred heavy-armed; Pasion, the Magarean, seven hundred men. Both he and Socrates were among those who were employed in

the siege of Miletus. These came to him to ¹⁸ Sardes. Tissaphernes observing all this, and looking upon these preparations as greater than were necessary against the Pisidians, went ¹⁹ to the king with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred horse; and the king being informed by Tissaphernes of the intended ²⁰ expedition of Cyrus, prepared himself to oppose him.

Cyrus, with the forces I have mentioned, marched from Sardes, and, advancing through Lydia, in ²¹ three days, made twenty-two ²² parasangas, as far as the river Mæander. This river is two plethra in breadth; and having a bridge over it supported by seven boats, he passed over, and advanced through Phrygia, making in one day's march eight parasangas, to Colosea, a large city, rich and well inhabited, where he staid seven days, when Menon, the Thessalian, came to him with a thousand heavy-armed men, and five hundred targeteers, consisting of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians. From thence he made, in three days' march, twenty parasangas to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, large, rich, and well inhabited. Here the palace of Cyrus stood, with a large ²³ park full of wild beasts, which Cyrus hunted on horseback, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his horses. Through the middle of this park runs the river Mæander, but the head of it rises in the palace; it runs also through the city of Celænæ. There is besides a fortified palace belonging to the ²⁴ great king in Celænæ, at the head of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river likewise runs through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The Marsyas is twenty-five feet broad: here Apollo is said to have flayed

Marsyas, whom contending with him in ²⁵ music, he had overcome, and to have hung up his skin in the cave, from whence the springs flow; for this reason the river is called Marsyas. Here Xerxes, when he fled from Greece after his defeat, is said to have built both this palace and the citadel of Celænæ. Here Cyrus staid thirty days, and hither Clearchus the banished Lacedæmonian came with a thousand heavy-armed men, five hundred Thracian ²⁶ targeteers, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Socias the Syracusan came with a thousand heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus the Arcadian with a thousand more. Here Cyrus reviewed the Greeks in the park, and took an account of their numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-armed men, and about two thousand targeteers.

From hence Cyrus made in two days' march ten parasangas, and arrived at Peltæ, a city well inhabited: there he staid three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian solemnized the ²⁷ Lupercalian sacrifice, and celebrated a game; the prizes were golden ²⁸ scrapers; at this game Cyrus was present. From thence he made in two marches twelve parasangas, and came to the market of the Cramians, a city well inhabited, the last of the country of Mysia. From thence he made, in three days' march, thirty parasangas, and arrived at a well-peopled city, called ²⁹ the Plain of Caystrus, where he staid five days. There was now due to the soldiers above three months' pay, which they, coming often to ³⁰ his door, demanded. He continued to give them hopes, and was visibly concerned; for he was not of a temper

to deny money, when he had it. Hither Epyaxa, the wife to Syennesis, king of the Cilicians, came to Cyrus; it was said she made him a present of great sums of money: Cyrus therefore gave the army four months' pay at that time. The Cilician queen had a guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and Cyrus was reported to have an amour with her.

From thence he made, in two days' march, ten parasangas, and came to the city of ³¹Thymbrium, a town well inhabited. Here was a fountain near the road, called the fountain of Midas, king of Phrygia, where Midas is said to have ³²caught the satyr, by mixing the fountain with wine. From thence he made, in two days' march, ten parasangas, and arrived at Tyriæum, a populous town, where he staid three days. And here, it is said, the Cilician queen desired Cyrus to shew her his army: in compliance therefore with her request, Cyrus reviewed in the plain, both his Greek and Barbarian forces; ordering the Greeks to dispose themselves according to their custom, and stand in order of battle, and that each of the commanders should draw up his own men; so they were drawn up ³³four deep. Menon had the right with his people, and Clearchus the left with his men; the rest of the generals being in the centre. First therefore Cyrus viewed the Barbarians (they marched by him drawn up in troops ³⁴, and companies), then the Greeks, Cyrus driving by them on a car, and the Cilician queen in a chariot ³⁵. They had all brazen helmets, scarlet vests, greaves, and burnished shields. After he had ³⁶passed by them all, he stopped his car in the centre of the front, and sending Pigres his interpreter to the Greek

generals, he ordered the whole line ³⁷ to present their pikes, and advance in order of battle: these conveyed his orders to the soldiers; who, when the trumpets sounded, presented their pikes and advanced; then marching ³⁸ faster than ordinary, with shouts, ran of their own accord to the tents. Upon this, many of the Barbarians were seized with fear; the Cilician queen quitted her chariot, and fled; and the sutlers, leaving their commodities, ran away: the Greeks, not without laughter, repaired to their tents. The Cilician queen, seeing the lustre and order of their army, was in admiration, and Cyrus pleased to see the terror with which the Greeks had struck the Barbarians.

Thence, in three days' march, he made twenty parasangas, and came to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia, where he staid three days. Thence he made, in five days' march, thirty parasangas, through Lycaonia; which being an enemy's country, he gave the Greeks leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the Cilician queen into Cilicia the shortest way, and appointed Menon the Thessalian himself, with his soldiers, to escort her. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, moved on through Cappadocia, and in four days' march, made five and twenty parasangas to Dana, a large and rich city, well inhabited. Here he staid three days, during which he put to death Megaphernes, a Persian, one of his courtiers, ³⁹ with another person who had principal command, accusing them of treachery. Thence they prepared to penetrate into Cilicia; the entrance ⁴⁰ was just broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposi-

tion; and Syennesis was said to have possessed himself of the eminences, in order to guard the pass; for which reason, Cyrus staid one day in the plain. The day after, news was brought by a messenger that Syennesis had quitted the eminences, upon information that both Menon's army were in Cilicia within the mountains, and also that Tamos was ⁴¹ sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia with the galleys that belonged to the Lacedæmonians, and to Cyrus, who immediately marched up the mountains without opposition, and ⁴² made himself master of the tents, in which the Cilicians lay to oppose his passage. From thence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines; abounding in ⁴³ sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley; and is surrounded with a strong and high ridge of hills from sea to sea.

After he had left the mountains, he advanced through the plain, and having made five and twenty parasangas in four days' march, arrived at ⁴⁴ Tarsus, a large and rich city of Cilicia, where stood the palace of Syennesis king of Cilicia; having the river ⁴⁵ Cydnus running through the middle of it, and is two hundred feet in breadth. This city was ⁴⁶ abandoned by the inhabitants, who, with Syennesis, fled to a fastness upon the mountains, those only excepted who kept the public houses: but the inhabitants of ⁴⁷ Soli and Issi, who lived near the sea, did not quit their habitations. Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, came to Tarsus five days before Cyrus. In the passage over the mountains into the plain, two companies of Menon's army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on

plunder, they were cut off by the Cilicians; and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the army, or gain the road, they wandered about the country, and were destroyed. ⁴⁸ The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed men. The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their companions, plundered both the city of Tarsus, and the palace that stood there. Cyrus, as soon as he entered the city, sent for Syennesis; but he, alleging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any person of superior power, declined coming, till his wife prevailed upon him, and received assurance from Cyrus. After that, when they met, Syennesis gave Cyrus great sums of money to pay his army, and Cyrus made him such presents as are of great value among kings; these were a horse with a golden bit, a chain, bracelets, and a scimitar of gold, with a Persian robe, besides ⁴⁹ the exemption of his country from further plunder; to this he added the restitution of the prisoners they had taken, wherever they were found.

Here Cyrus and the army staid twenty days, the soldiers declaring they would go no further; for they suspected he was leading them against the king, and said they were not raised for that service. Clearchus was the first who endeavoured to force his men to go on, but as soon as he began to march they threw stones at him, and at his sumpter horses, so that he narrowly escaped being then stoned to death. Afterwards, when he saw it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his men together, and first stood still a considerable time, shed-

ding many tears, while the soldiers beheld him in amaze and silence, then spoke to them in the following manner :

“ Fellow Soldiers ! wonder not that I am concerned at the present posture of affairs : for I am engaged to Cyrus by the rights of hospitality, and when I was banished, among other marks of distinction with which he honoured me, he gave me ten thousand daricks. After I had received this money, I did not treasure it up for my own use, or ⁵⁰ lavish it in pleasures, but laid it out upon you. And first I made war upon the Thracians, and with your assistance revenged the injuries they had done to Greece, by driving them out of the Chersonesus, where they were endeavouring to dispossess the Greek inhabitants of their lands. After that, when I was summoned by Cyrus, I carried you to him with this view, that, if there were occasion, I might, in return for his ⁵¹favours, be of service to him ; but, since you refuse to go on with me, and I am under a necessity either, by betraying you, to rely on the friendship of Cyrus, or, by being false to him, to adhere to you, though I am in doubt whether I shall do right or not. However, I have determinid to give you the ⁵² preference, and with you to suffer every thing that may happen. Neither shall any one say, that having led Greeks among Barbarians, I betrayed the Greeks, and preferred the friendship of the Barbarians ; but, since you refuse to obey me, and to follow me, I will follow you, and share in all your sufferings ; for I look upon you as my country, my friends, and fellow-soldiers, and that with you I shall live in honour wherever I am, but without

you, that I shall neither be useful to my friends, or formidable to my enemies. Be assured therefore, that whithersoever you go, I resolve to go with you." Thus spoke Clearchus. The soldiers, both those who belonged to him and the rest of the army, hearing this, commended him for declaring he would not march against the king, and above two thousand left Xenias and Pasion, and, taking their arms and ⁵³ baggage with them, came and encamped with Clearchus.

These things gave Cyrus great perplexity and uneasiness; so he sent for Clearchus, who refused to go, but dispatched a messenger to him, unknown to the soldiers, with encouragement, that this affair would take a favourable turn. He advised Cyrus to send for him, but at the same time let him know that he did not design to go to him. After this, assembling his own soldiers, with those who were lately come to him, and as many of the rest as desired to be present, he spoke to them as follows:

"Fellow Soldiers! it is certain the affairs of Cyrus are in the same situation in respect to us, with ours in regard to him; for neither are we any longer his soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, neither does he any longer give us pay. I know he thinks himself unjustly treated by us; so that, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him, chiefly through shame, because I am conscious to myself of having deceived him in every thing; in the next place, through fear, lest he should cause me to be apprehended and punished for the wrongs he thinks I have done him. I am therefore of opinion, that this is no time for us to sleep, or to neglect the care of

ourselves, but to consult what is to be done. If we stay, we are to consider by what means we may stay with the greatest security; and if we resolve to go away, how we may go with the greatest safety, and supply ourselves with provisions; for without these, neither a commander, or a private man, can be of any use. Cyrus is a very valuable friend, where he is a friend; but the severest enemy, where he is an enemy. He is also master of that strength in foot, horse, and at sea, which we all both see and are acquainted with, for truly we do not seem to be encamped at a great distance from him; so that this is the time for every one to advise what he judges best." Here he stopped.

Upon this some rose up of their own accord to give their opinions; others, by his direction, to shew the difficulties either of staying or going without the approbation of Cyrus. One, pretending to be in haste by returning to Greece, said, that if Clearchus refused to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to choose other generals, to buy provisions (there being a market in the Barbarians' camp), and pack up their baggage; then go to Cyrus, and demand ships of him to transport them; which if he refused, to desire a commander to conduct them, as through a friend's country; and, if this also be refused, continued he, we ought forthwith to draw up a declaration of battle, and send a detachment to secure the eminences, that neither Cyrus, nor the Cilicians (many of whom we have taken prisoners, and whose ⁵⁴ effects we have plundered, and still possess) may prevent us.—After him Clearchus spoke to this effect:

“Let none of you propose me to be general in this expedition (for I see many things that forbid it), but consider me as one resolved to obey, as far as possible, the person you shall choose, that you may be convinced I also know as well as any other, how to submit to command.”—After him another got up, shewing the folly of the man who advised to demand the ships, as if Cyrus would not resume his expedition. He shewed also how weak a thing it was to apply for a guide to that person whose undertaking we had defeated. “If,” says he, “we can place any confidence in a guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring Cyrus himself to secure those eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the transports he may give us, lest he should sink the ⁵⁵ ships. I should also be afraid to follow the guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place, out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the consent of Cyrus, I wish we could also go without his knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain thoughts; I am therefore of opinion that proper persons, together with Clearchus, should go to Cyrus, and ask him in what service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that if the present undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign troops, we will follow him, and behave ourselves with equal bravery to those ⁵⁶ who attended him upon that occasion; but if this enterprise appears to be of greater moment than the former, and to be attended with greater labour and ⁵⁷ danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us

by persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevailed upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him as friends, with cheerfulness, and if we return, we shall return with safety. And let them report to us what he says, which we may then consider of." This was resolved.

Having chosen the persons therefore, they sent them with Clearchus, who asked Cyrus the questions appointed by the army---to which he made this answer: "I am informed, that Abrocomas, my enemy, lies near the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve days' march; therefore, my intention is, if I find him there, to punish, by leading my army against him; but if he flies from the place, I will there consider what we are to do." This coming to the ears of those who were appointed to attend Cyrus, made their report to the soldiers, who suspected his design was to lead them against the king; yet they resolved to follow him; and when they demanded an increase of pay, he promised to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, instead of one darick, a darick and a half every month to each man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the king, at least it was not public.

Hence he made in two days' march ten parasangas, to the river Pharus, which was three hundred feet broad; from thence to the river Pyramus, which is one stadium in breadth, making in one march five parasangas; from which place he made, in two days' march, fifteen parasangas, and arrived at Issus⁵⁸, the last town of Cilicia, situated near the sea; a large city, rich, and well inhabited; where he staid

three days, during which time five-and-thirty ships, with Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian (the admiral), at the head, sailed from Peloponnesus, and came to Cyrus, being conducted from Ephesus by Tamos, an Egyptian, who carried with him five-and-twenty other ships belonging to Cyrus, with which he had besieged Miletus, because that city was in friendship with Tissaphernes, against whom Tamos made war in conjunction with Cyrus. With these ships also came Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, whom Cyrus had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-armed men, which he commanded under Cyrus, before whose tent the ships lay⁵⁹ at anchor. Hither also four hundred heavy-armed Greeks came to Cyrus (leaving Abrocomas, in whose service they were), and marched with him against the king.

Hence Cyrus made in one march five parasangas, to the⁶⁰ gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses, of which the inner, next Cilicia, was possessed by Syennesis with a guard of Cilicians, and the outer, next to Syria, was said to be defended by the king's troops. Between these two fortresses runs a river called Kersus, one hundred feet in breadth. The interval between them was three stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way; the pass being narrow, the fortresses reaching down to the sea, and above were inaccessible⁶¹ rocks. In both these fortresses stood the gates. In order to gain this pass, Cyrus sent for his ships, that, by landing his heavy-armed men both within and without the gates, they might force their passage through the Syrian gates, if defended by the enemy; which he expected Abrocomas, who

was at the head of a great army, would attempt: however, Abrocomas did not do this, but as soon as he heard Cyrus was in Cilicia, he suddenly left Phœnicia, and went back to the king, with an army consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand men.

Hereupon Cyrus proceeded through Syria, and in one march made five parasangas to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by the Phœnicians, ⁶² which being a mart-town, where many merchant ships lay at anchor, they continued seven days; during which Xenias the Arcadian general, and Pasion the Megarean, took ship, and, putting their most valuable effects on board, sailed away. It was the general opinion, that this was owing to their resentment against Clearchus, whom Cyrus had suffered to retain the troops that left them, and put themselves under his command with a view of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the king. As soon therefore as they disappeared, a rumour was spread that Cyrus would follow them with his galleys. Some wished, that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken; others ⁶³ pitied them if they should fall into his hands.

Cyrus immediately assembled together the general officers, and spoke thus to them: "Xenias and Pasion have left us, but let them be assured that they are not ⁶⁴ gone away so as to be concealed (for I know whither they are going), neither are they escaped (for my galleys can come up with their ship). But I ⁶⁵ call the gods to witness, that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that, while people are with me, I use their service; but

that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their fortunes.⁶⁶ Let them go, therefore, and remember they have behaved themselves worse to me than I to them. Their wives and children are under a guard at Tralles; however, not even these shall they be deprived of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant behaviour they have formerly shewn in my service." The Greeks, if any before shewed a backwardness to the enterprize, seeing this instance of Cyrus's virtue, followed him with greater pleasure and cheerfulness.

After this, Cyrus, in four days' march, made twenty parasangas, and came to the river Chalus, which is one hundred feet broad, and full⁶⁷ of large tame fish, which the Syrians look upon as gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than pigeons. The villages in which they encamped belonged to Parysatis, and were given to her for her table⁶⁸. Thirty parasangas more, in five days' march, brought him to the source of the river Daradax, the breadth of which was one hundred feet, having near it the palace of Belesis, who was formerly governor of Syria, with a very large and beautiful park, producing every thing proper to the season. Cyrus laid waste the park, and burned the palace. From thence, in three days' march, he made fifteen parasangas, and came to the river Euphrates, which is four stadia in breadth; where being the large and flourishing city of⁶⁹ Thapsacus, they remained five days; during which Cyrus, sending for the generals of the Greeks, told them that he proposed marching to Babylon against the great king, and ordered them

to acquaint the soldiers with it, and to persuade them to follow him. Hereupon, they called them together, and informed them of it; but the soldiers were angry with their generals, saying, they knew this before, but concealed it from them; therefore refused to march unless they had money given them, as the other soldiers had, who before attended Cyrus to his father, and that not to fight, but only to wait upon him when his father sent for him. The generals immediately gave an account of this to Cyrus, who promised to give every man five⁷⁰ mines of silver, as soon as they came to Babylon, and their full pay, till he brought them back to Ionia; by which means great part of the Greeks were prevailed upon: but Menon, before it appeared whether the rest of the soldiers would follow Cyrus or not, called his own men together apart, and spoke thus to them:

“Fellow Soldiers! if you will follow my advice, you shall, without either danger or labour, be in greater esteem with Cyrus than the rest of the army. What then do I advise? Cyrus is this minute entreating the Greeks to follow him against the king. I say, therefore, we ought to pass the Euphrates, before it appears what answer the rest of the Greeks will make to him; for if they determine to follow him, you will be looked upon as the cause of it by first passing the river, and Cyrus will not only think himself under an obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his service, but will return it (which no man better understands); but if the rest determine otherwise, we will⁷¹ then all return. As you only are obedient to his orders, he will look upon you as persons of the greatest fidelity, and as such

employ you in the command both of garrisons and of companies; and I am confident you will find Cyrus your friend ⁷² in whatever else you desire of him." The soldiers, hearing this, followed his advice, and passed the Euphrates, before the rest had returned an answer. When Cyrus heard they had passed the river, he was pleased, and sending Glus to them, ordered him to say to them, in his name, "Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus." Hereupon, the soldiers, conceiving great hopes, prayed for his success; after which (having, as was reported, sent magnificent presents to Menon) he, at the head of his army, passed the river, the water not reaching above their breasts, notwithstanding the inhabitants of Thapsacus declared, that the river was never fordable before, or passable but in boats, which Abrocomas had burned, as he marched before them, to prevent Cyrus from passing over; it seemed therefore providential⁷³, and that the river visibly submitted to Cyrus, as to its future king.

From thence he advanced through ⁷⁴Syria, and having in nine days' march made fifty parasangas, came to the river ⁷⁵Araxes; where being many villages full of corn and wine, they staid three days, made their provisions, and then proceeded through ⁷⁶Arabia, keeping the river Euphrates on his right hand; and in five days' march through a desert made thirty-five parasangas. The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kinds of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees

appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild ⁷⁷ asses, and not a few ostriches ⁷⁸, besides ⁷⁹ bustards and ⁸⁰ roe-deer, which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed), and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender. None could take an ostrich; the horsemen, who pursued them, soon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making use both of their feet to run, and of their wings, when expanded, as a sail to waft them along. As for the bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights, like partridges, and are soon tired. Their flesh was very delicious.

In marching through this country they came to the river Masca, a hundred feet in breadth, surrounding a large city uninhabited, called Corsote; whence, after continuing three days, making their provisions, he made ninety parasangas in thirteen days' march, through a desert, still keeping the Euphrates on his right, and came to Pilæ; during which marches many sumpter horses died of hunger, there being no grass, nor any other plant, but the whole country entirely barren; the inhabitants being employed near the river with digging ⁸¹ mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale, to buy provisions for their support. By this time the army wanted corn, and there was none to

be bought, but in the Lydian market, which was in the camp of the Barbarians, belonging to Cyrus, where a ⁸²capithe of ⁸³wheat or barley-meal was sold for four ⁸⁴sigli. The siglus is worth seven Attick oboli ⁸⁵ and a half; and the capithe holds two Attick ⁸⁶choenixes: so that the soldiers lived upon flesh. Some of these marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind his army should go on till they came to water or forage. And once, where the road was narrow, and so deep that the carriages could not pass without difficulty, Cyrus stopped, with those about him of the greatest authority and fortune, and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the Barbarians belonging to his army, and help the carriages through; but, thinking they went slowly about it, he commanded, as in anger, the most considerable Persians who were with him, to assist in hastening on the carriages, which afforded an instance of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple ⁸⁷robes, where each of them happened to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a prize, even down a very steep hill, in their costly vests, and embroidered ⁸⁸drawers, some even with chains about their necks, and bracelets round their wrists; and, leaping into the dirt with these, they lifted up the carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. Upon the whole, Cyrus appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping no where unless to get provisions, or for other things that were very necessary; he judging, the quicker he marched the more unprepared the king would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the king's army; for it was obvious, to any person of attention, that

the Persian empire, though strong with regard to the⁸⁹ extent of country and numbers of men, was however weak by reason of the great distance of places, and the division of its forces, when surprised by a sudden invasion.

In their march through the desert, they discovered a large and populous city situated on the other side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the soldiers bought⁹⁰ provisions, having passed over to it upon⁹¹ rafts, by filling the⁹² skins, which they made use of for tents, with dry hay, and sewing them together so close, that the water could not get therein: these provisions were such as wine made of the⁹³ fruit of the palm-tree, and panic, there being great plenty of this in the country. It was here that a dispute arose between Menon's soldiers, and those of Clearchus: the latter, thinking one of Menon's men in the wrong, struck him; the soldier thereupon informed his companions of it, who not only resented it, but were violently incensed against Clearchus,⁹⁴ who, the same day, after he had been at the place where the men passed the river, and inspected the provisions, rode back to his own tent with a few attendants through Menon's army; and before the arrival of Cyrus, who was on his way thither, it happened that one of Menon's soldiers, as he was riving wood, saw Clearchus riding through the camp, and threw his ax at him, but missed him; then another, and another, threw stones at him; upon which, a great outcry ensuing, many did the same. However, Clearchus escaped to his own quarter, and immediately ordered his men to their arms; commanding the heavy-armed soldiers to stand still, resting their shields against

their knees, and taking with him the Thracians and the horse, of whom he had above forty in his army, the greatest part Thracians, he rode up to Menon's men, who thereupon were in great consternation, as well as Menon himself, and ran to their arms, while others stood amazed, not knowing what to do; but Proxenus, for he happened to be coming after them at the head of his heavy-armed men, advanced between them both, and, ⁹⁵making his soldiers stand to their arms, begged of Clearchus to desist. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly escaped being stoned to death, the other should speak tamely of his grievance; and therefore desired he would withdraw from between them. In the mean time Cyrus came up, and being informed of what had happened, immediately took his arms, and, with the Persians who were present, rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: "Clearchus! and Proxenus! and you Greeks who are present! you are not sensible of what you are doing; for if you fight with one another, be assured, that I shall this day be destroyed, and you not long after; for, if our affairs decline, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will be greater enemies to you than those belonging to the king." Clearchus, hearing this, came to himself, and both sides resigning their anger, laid up their arms ⁹⁶where they were before.

While they were marching forward, there appeared the footing and dung of horses, which, by the ⁹⁷print of their feet, were judged to be about two thousand, marching before, burning all the forage, and every thing else that could be of any use. There was a Persian, by name Orontas, a prince of the

blood, and of reputation, in military affairs, equal to the most considerable among the Persians; having formed a design to betray Cyrus, with whom he had before been at war; but, being now reconciled, told Cyrus, that if he would give him a thousand horse, he would place himself in ambuscade, and either destroy those horse that burned all before him, or take many of them prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the country, and from being able to inform the king that they had seen his army. Cyrus, thinking this proposal for his service, ordered him to take a detachment out of every troop belonging to the several commanders.

Orontas, presuming the horse were ready, wrote a letter to the king, acquainting him, that he should come to him with as many horse as he could get, and desiring him to give orders, at the same time, to his own horse, that they ⁹⁸ should receive him as a friend; reminding him also of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gave to a trusty person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had received it, delivered it to Cyrus; who immediately commanded Orontas to be apprehended, and caused ⁹⁹ seven of the most considerable Persians about him to assemble in his tent; and, at the same time, upon giving orders to the Greek generals for bringing their heavy-armed men, and place them round his tent, with their arms in their hands, they obeyed his commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed men. He also called Clearchus to the council, as a man whom both he and the rest looked upon to be of the greatest dignity among the Greeks. When he came out, he gave his friends an account of the ¹⁰⁰ trial

of Orontas (for secrecy was not enjoined), and of the speech which Cyrus made, as follows:

“Friends! I have called you hither to the end that I may consider with you of what is most just both in the sight of gods and men, and accordingly proceed against this criminal Orontas. In the first place, my father appointed ¹⁰¹ this man to be my subject; ¹⁰² afterwards, by the command, as he says, of my brother, he made war upon me, being then in possession of the citadel of Sardes; this war I prosecuted in such a manner, as to dispose him to desire an end of it, and I received his ¹⁰³ hand, and gave him mine; since that time, say, Orontas, have I done you any injury?” To which he answered, “None.” Cyrus again asked him, “Did not you afterwards, without any provocation from me, as you yourself own, revolt to the Mysians, and lay waste my country to the utmost of your power?” Orontas owned it. “After that,” continued Cyrus, “when you again became sensible of your want of power, did not you fly to the ¹⁰⁴ altar of Diana, profess repentance, and, having prevailed with me, give me again your faith, and receive mine?” This also Orontas confessed. “What injury then,” says Cyrus, “have I done you, that you should now, for the third time, be found endeavouring to betray me?” Orontas saying that he was not provoked to it by any injury, Cyrus continued, “You own then you have wronged me?” “I am under a necessity of owning it,” replied Orontas: upon which, Cyrus asked him again, “Can you yet be an enemy to my brother, and a friend to me?” “Though I should,” says Orontas, “O Cyrus! you will never think me so.”

Hereupon, Cyrus said to those who were present, "Such are the actions of this man, and such his words:" at the same time desiring the opinion of Clearchus, who delivered it as follows: "My advice is, that this man be forthwith put to death, to the end that we may no longer be under a necessity of guarding against his practices, but have leisure, being freed ¹⁰⁵ from him, to do good to those who desire to be our friends:" after which, upon declaring the rest were unanimous in this advice, they all rose up, and, together with his relations, by order of Cyrus, laid hold on ¹⁰⁶ Orontas's girdle, as a token of his being condemned, and instantly led out by the proper officers; when, although in that dishonourable situation, those who used to prostrate themselves before him, even then paid him the same ¹⁰⁷ veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. He was carried into the tent of Artapates, who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptre-bearers ¹⁰⁸; from which time no one ever saw Orontas either ¹⁰⁹ alive or dead, nor could any one certainly relate how he was put to death, though various conjectures were made about it; neither was it ever known that any monument was erected to his memory.

Cyrus next proceeded through the country of Babylon, and, after completing twelve parasangas in three days' march, reviewed his forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, in a plain, about midnight (expecting the king would appear next morning, at the head of his army, ready to give him battle); giving the command of the right wing to Clearchus, and that of the left to Menon the Thessalian, while he himself drew up his own men. After the review, and as

soon as the day appeared, there came deserters from the great king, bringing an account of his army to Cyrus, who thereupon called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and advised with them concerning the order of battle; at the same time encouraging them by the following persuasions:---
“O Greeks! it is not from any want of Barbarians, that I make use of you as my auxiliaries, but because I look upon you as superior to great numbers of them; for that reason I have taken you also into my service: shew ¹¹⁰ yourselves therefore worthy of that liberty you enjoy, in the possession of which I think you extremely happy; for be ¹¹¹ assured that I would prefer liberty before all things I possess, with the addition of many others. But, that you may understand what kind of combat you are going to engage in, I shall explain it to you. Their numbers are great, and they come on with mighty shouts, which if you can withstand, for the rest I am almost ashamed to think what kind of men you will find our country produces. But you are ¹¹² soldiers; behave yourselves with bravery, and, if any one of you desires to return home, I will take care to send him back the envy of his country; but I am confident that my behaviour will engage many of you rather to follow my fortunes, than return home.”

Gaulites, a banished Samian, a man of fidelity to Cyrus, being present, spoke thus: “It is said by some, O Cyrus! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent danger, which, upon any success, you will not remember; and by others, that, though you should remember your promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in

your power." Cyrus then replied; "Gentlemen! my ¹¹³ paternal kingdom, to the south, reaches as far as those climates that are uninhabitable through heat, and to the north, as far as those that are so through cold: every thing between is under the government of my brother's friends; and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my friends, in possession of it; so that I am under no apprehension, if we succeed, lest I should not have enough to bestow on each of my friends; I only fear, lest I should not have friends enough on whom to bestow it: but to each of you, Greeks, besides what I have mentioned, I promise a crown of gold." Hereupon, the officers espoused his cause with greater alacrity, and made their report to the rest; after which, the Greek generals, and some of the private men, came to him to know what they had to expect, if they were victorious; all whom he sent away big with hopes; and all who were admitted, advised him not to engage personally, but to stand in the rear: Clearchus himself put this question to him; "Are you of opinion, O Cyrus! that your brother will hazard a battle?" "Certainly," answered Cyrus: "if he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke."

While the soldiers were accomplishing themselves for the action, the number of the Greeks was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred ¹¹⁴ heavy-armed men, and two thousand four hundred targeteers; and that of the Barbarians in the service of Cyrus, to one hundred thousand men, with about twenty ¹¹⁵ chariots armed with sithes. The enemy's army was said to consist of twelve hundred thousand

men, and two hundred chariots armed with sithes, besides six thousand horse, under the command of Artagerses, all which were drawn up before the king, whose army was commanded by four generals, commanders and leaders, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces, who had each the command of three hundred thousand men; but of this number nine hundred thousand only were present at the battle, together with one hundred and fifty chariots armed with sithes; for Abrocomas, coming out of Phœnicia, arrived five days after the action. This was the account the deserters gave to Cyrus, before the battle, which was afterwards confirmed by the prisoners. From thence Cyrus, in one day's march made three parasangas; all his forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, marching in order of battle, because he expected the king would fight that day; for, in the middle of their march, there was a trench cut five fathom broad, and three deep, extending twelve parasangas upwards, traversing the plain as far as the wall of Media. In this plain are four ¹¹⁶canals derived from the river Tigris, being each one hundred feet in breadth, and deep enough for barges laden with corn to sail therein: they fall into the Euphrates, and are distant from one another one parasanga, having bridges over them.

The great king, hearing Cyrus was marching against him, immediately caused a trench to be made (by way of fortification) near the Euphrates; close to which also, there was a narrow pass, through which Cyrus and his army marched, and came within the trench; when, finding the king did not engage that day, by the many tracks that appeared both of

horses and men which were retreated, he sent for Silanus, the soothsayer of Ambracia, and (agreeable to his promise) gave him three thousand daricks, because the eleventh day before that, when he was offering sacrifice, he told Cyrus, the king would not fight within ten days; upon which Cyrus said, "If he does not fight within that time, he will not fight at all; and, if what you say proves true, I'll give you ¹¹⁷ ten talents." Since, therefore, the king had suffered the army of Cyrus to march through this pass unmolested, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given over all thoughts of fighting; so that the next day Cyrus marched with less circumspection, and the third day rode on his car, very few marching before him in their ranks; great part of the soldiers observed no order, many of their arms being carried in waggons, and upon sumpter horses.

It was now about the time of day ¹¹⁸ when the market is usually crowded, the army being near the place where they proposed to encamp, when Patagyas, a Persian, one of those whom Cyrus most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his horse all in a sweat, and he calling to every one he met, both in his own language and in Greek, that the king was at hand with a vast army, marching in order of battle; which occasioned a general confusion among the Greeks, all expecting he would charge them before they had put themselves in order: but Cyrus, leaping from his car, put on his corslet; then mounting his horse, took his javelins in his hand, ordered all the rest to arm, and every man to take his post: by virtue of which command they quickly formed themselves, Clearchus on the

right wing, close to the Euphrates; next to him Proxenus, and after him the rest: Menon and his men were posted upon the left of the Greek army. Of the Barbarians, a thousand Paphlagonian horse, with the Greek targeteers, stood next to Clearchus on the right: upon the left, Ariæus, Cyrus's lieutenant-general, was placed with the rest of the Barbarians---they had large corslets, and cuisses, and all of them helmets, but Cyrus, who placed himself in the centre with six hundred horse, and stood ready for the charge, with his head unarmed; ¹¹⁹ in which manner, they say, it is also customary for the rest of the Persians to expose themselves in a day of action: all the horses in Cyrus's army had both frontlets and breast-plates, and the horsemen Greek swords.

It was now the middle of day, and no enemy was yet to be seen; ¹²⁰ but in the afternoon there appeared a dust like a white cloud, which not long after spread itself like a darkness over the plain: when they drew nearer, the brazen armour flashed, and their spears and ranks appeared, having on their left a body of horse armed in white corslets (said to be commanded by Tissaphernes), and followed by those with ¹²¹ Persian bucklers, besides heavy-armed men with wooden shields, reaching down to their feet (said to be Egyptians), and other horse, and archers, all which marched ¹²² according to their respective countries, each nation being drawn up in a ¹²³ solid oblong square; and before them were disposed, at a considerable distance from one another, chariots armed with sithes fixed aslant at the axle-trees, with others under the ¹²⁴ body of the chariot, pointing downwards,

that so they might cut asunder every thing they encountered, by driving them among the ranks of the Greeks, to break them: but it now appeared that Cyrus was greatly mistaken when he exhorted the Greeks to withstand the shouts of the Barbarians: for they did not come on with shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. Here Cyrus, riding along the ranks with Pigres the interpreter, and three or four others, commanded Clearchus to bring his men opposite to the centre of the enemy (because the king was there), saying, "If we break that, our work is done:" but Clearchus, observing their centre, and understanding from Cyrus that the king was beyond the left wing of the Greek army (for the king was so much superior in number, that, when he stood in the centre of his own army, he was beyond the left wing to that of Cyrus)---Clearchus, I say, would not, however, be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the river, fearing to be surrounded on both sides; but answered Cyrus, he would take care all should go well.

Now the Barbarians came regularly on; and the Greek army standing on the same ground, the ranks were formed as the men came up; in the mean time, Cyrus riding at a small distance before the ranks, surveying both the enemy's army and his own, was observed by Xenophon, an Athenian, who rode up to him, and asked whether he had any thing to command; Cyrus, stopping his horse, ordered him to let them all know, that the ¹²⁵sacrifices and victims promised success. While he was saying this, upon hearing a noise running through the ranks, he asked him what meant it? Xenophon answered, that the

word was now giving for the second time; Cyrus, wondering who should give it, asked him what the word was: the other replied, “¹²⁶ Jupiter the preserver, and Victory:” Cyrus replied, “I accept it, let that be the word:” after which, he immediately returned to his post; and the two armies being now within three or four stadia of each other, ¹²⁷ the Greeks sung the Pæan, and began to advance against the enemy; but the motion occasioning a small ¹²⁸ fluctuation in the line of battle, those who were left behind, hastened their march, and at once gave a general ¹²⁹ shout, as their custom is when they invoke the god of war, and all ran forward, striking their shields with their pikes (as some say) to frighten the enemy’s horses—so that, before the Barbarians came within reach of their darts, they turned their horses and fled; but the Greeks pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their ranks: some of the chariots were borne through their own people without their charioteers, others through the Greeks; some of whom seeing them coming, ¹³⁰ divided; while others, being amazed, like spectators in the ¹³¹ Hippodrome, were taken unawares—but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other Greek hurt in the action, except one upon the left wing, who was said to have been wounded by an arrow.

Cyrus seeing the Greeks victorious on their side, rejoiced in pursuit of the enemy, and was already worshipped as king by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his post, and join in the pursuit; but, keeping six hundred

horse in a body, observed the king's motions, well knowing that he was in the centre of the Persian army; ¹³² for in all Barbarian armies, the generals ever place themselves in the centre, looking upon that post as the safest, on each side of which their strength is equally divided; and, if they have occasion to give out any orders, they are received in half the time by the army. The king, therefore, being at that time in the centre of his own battle, was however beyond the left wing of Cyrus; and, when he saw none opposed him in front, nor any motion made to charge the troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left, in order to surround their army; whereupon, Cyrus fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the Greeks, advanced against the king, and, charging with his six hundred horse, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand men to flight, and, as they say, killed Artagerses, their commander, with his own hand.

These being broken, and the six hundred belonging to Cyrus dispersed in the pursuit, very few were left about him, and those almost all persons who used to eat at his table: however, upon ¹³³ discovering the king, properly attended, and, unable to contain himself, immediately cried out, "I see the man!" then ran furiously at him, and, striking him on the breast, wounded him through his corslet (as Ctesias the physician says, who affirms that he cured the wound), having, while he was giving the blow, received a wound under the eye, from somebody, who threw a javelin at him with great force; at the same time, the king and Cyrus engaged hand to hand, and

those about them, in defence of each. In this action Ctesias (who was with the king) informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of his most considerable friends ¹³⁴ lay dead upon him. When Artapates, who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptred ministers, saw him fall, they say, he leaped from his horse, and threw himself about him; when (as some say) the king ordered him to be slain upon the body of Cyrus; though others assert, that, drawing his scimitar, he slew himself—for he wore a golden scimitar, a chain, bracelets, and other ornaments, which are worn by the most considerable Persians—and was held in great esteem by Cyrus, both for his affection and fidelity.

Thus died Cyrus! a man universally acknowledged, by those who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the Persians since the ancient Cyrus, indued with the most princely qualities, and the most worthy of empire. First, while he was yet a child, and educated with his brother and other children, he was looked upon as superior to them all in all things. For all the children of the great men in Persia are brought up ¹³⁵ at court, where they have an opportunity of learning great modesty, and where nothing immodest is ever heard or seen. There the children have constantly before their eyes, those who are honoured and disgraced by the king, and hear the reasons of both; so that, while they are children, they presently learn to command as well as to obey. Cyrus was observed to have more docility than any of his years, and to shew more submission to those of an advanced age, than any

other children, though of a condition inferior to his own. He was also observed to excel not only in his love of horses, but in his management of them: and in those exercises that relate to war, such as archery and lancing of darts, they found him the most desirous to learn and the most indefatigable. When in the flower of his age, he was, of all others, the fondest of hunting, and in hunting, of danger: and once, when a bear rushed upon him, he did not decline the encounter, but closed with her, and was torn from his horse, when he received those wounds, of which he ever after wore the scars: at last he killed the bear, and the person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy man in the eyes of all that knew him.

When he was sent by his father governor of Lydia, the greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and was declared general of all those who are obliged to assemble in the plain of Castolus, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he entered into a league, engaged in a contract, or made a promise, his greatest care was never to deceive; for which reason both the cities that belonged to his government, and private men, placed a confidence in him. And if any one had been his enemy, and Cyrus had made peace with him, he was under no apprehension of suffering by a violation of it. So that, when he made war against Tissaphernes, all the cities, besides Miletus, willingly declared for him; and these were afraid of him, because he would not desert their banished citizens—for he shewed by his actions, as well as his words, that, after he had once given them assurance of his friendship, he would never abandon

them, though their number should yet diminish, and their condition be yet impaired. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to out-do his friends in good, and his enemies in ill offices; and it was reported that he wished to live so long, as to be able to overcome them both, in ¹³⁶ returning both. There was no one man therefore of our time, to whom such numbers of people were ambitious of delivering up their fortunes, their cities, and their persons.

Neither can it be said that he suffered malefactors and robbers to triumph; for to these he was of all men the most inexorable. It was no uncommon thing to see such men in the great roads deprived of their feet, their hands, and their eyes; so that any person, whether Greek or Barbarian, might travel whithersoever he pleased, and with whatsoever he pleased, through the country under his command, and, provided he did no injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honoured, in a particular manner, those who distinguished themselves in arms. His first expedition was against the Pisidians and Mysians, which he commanded in person; and those whom he observed forward to expose themselves, he appointed governors over the conquered countries, and distinguished them by other presents; so that ¹³⁷ brave men were looked upon as most fortunate, and cowards as deserving to be their slaves—for which reason, great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they expected Cyrus would take notice of them.

As for justice, if any person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was, that such a one should enjoy a greater affluence than those

who aimed at raising their fortunes by unjust means. Among many other instances, therefore, of the justice of his administration, this was one, that he had an army which truly deserved that name, for the officers did not come to him from countries on the other side of the sea, for gain, but because they were sensible that a ready obedience to Cyrus's commands was of greater advantage to them than their monthly pay; and indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his orders, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded—for which reason, it is said that Cyrus was the best served of any prince in all his enterprizes. If he observed any governor of a province joining the most exact economy with justice, improving his country, and increasing his revenue, he never took any share of these advantages to himself, but added more to them; so that they laboured with cheerfulness, enriched themselves with confidence, and never concealed their possessions from Cyrus, who was never known to envy those who owned themselves to be rich—but endeavoured to make use of the riches of all who concealed them. It is universally acknowledged, that he possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of cultivating those of his friends, whose good-will to him he was assured of, and whom he looked upon as proper instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he proposed—as an acknowledgment for which, he endeavoured to shew himself a most powerful assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, upon many accounts, he received, in my opinion, more presents than any one man; so, of all men living, he distributed them to his friends with

the greatest generosity, and in this distribution consulted both the taste and the wants of every one. And as for those ornaments of his person that were presented to him, either as of use in war, or embellishments to dress, he is said to have expressed this sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he looked upon a prince's friends, when richly dressed, as his greatest ornament. However, it is not so much to be wondered at, that, being of greater ability than his friends, he should out-do them in the magnificence of his favours; but, that he should surpass them in his care and his earnestness to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of admiration. He frequently sent his friends small ¹³⁸vessels half full of wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; besides which, he also frequently sent them half geese, and half loaves, &c. ordering the person who carried them to say, Cyrus liked these things, for which reason he desires you also to taste of them. Where forage was very scarce, and he, by the number and care of his servants, had an opportunity of being supplied with it, he sent to his friends, desiring they would give the horses, that were for their own riding, their share of it, to the end they might not be oppressed with hunger, when they carried his friends. When he appeared in public upon any occasion, where he knew many people would have their eyes upon him, he used to call his friends to him, and affected to discourse ¹³⁹earnestly with them, that he might shew whom he honoured. So that by all I have heard, no man, either of the Greeks or Barba-

rians, ever deserved more esteem from his subjects. This, among others, is a remarkable instance—no one ever deserted from Cyrus, though a subject, to the king: Orontas alone attempted it,¹⁴⁰ yet he soon found, that the person on whose fidelity he depended, was more a friend to Cyrus than to him. Many, who had been most in favour with Cyrus, came over to him from the king, after the war broke out between them, with this expectation, that in the service of Cyrus their merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the king. What happened also to him at his death, made it evident, that he was not only himself a good man, but that he knew how to make choice of those who were faithful, affectionate, and constant; even when he was killed, all his friends and his¹⁴¹ favourites died fighting for him, except Ariæus, who, being appointed to the command of the horse on the left wing, as soon as he heard that Cyrus was killed, fled with all that body which was under his command.

When Cyrus was dead, his head and right hand were cut off upon the spot, and the king, with his men in the pursuit, broke into his camp; while those with Ariæus no longer made a stand, but fled through their own camp to their former post, which was said to be four parasangas from the field of battle. The king, with his forces, among many other things, took Cyrus's mistress, a¹⁴² Phocæan, who was said to be a woman of great sense and beauty. The other, a Milesian, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the king's troops, but escaped naked to the quarter of the Greeks, who were left to guard the baggage. These, forming themselves, killed many

of those who were plundering the camp, and lost some of their own men; however, they did not fly, but saved the Milesian, with the men and effects, and, in general, every thing else that was in their quarter. The king and the Greeks were now at the distance of about thirty stadia from one another, pursuing the enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gained a complete victory; and the king's troops plundering the camp of the Greeks, as if they also had been every where victorious. But when the Greeks were informed that the king, with his men, were among their baggage, and the king on his side heard, from Tissaphernes, that the Greeks had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the pursuit, he then rallied his forces and put them in order. On the other side, Clearchus consulted with Proxenus, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a detachment, or should all march to relieve the camp.

In the mean time the king was observed to move forward again, and seemed resolved to fall upon their rear; upon which the Greeks ¹⁴³ faced about, and put themselves in a posture to march that way, and receive him. However, the king did not advance that way, but, as before, passed ¹⁴⁴ beyond their left wing, led his men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the Greeks during the action, and also Tissaphernes with his forces; for Tissaphernes did not fly at the first onset, but penetrated with his horse, where the Greek targeteers were posted, quite as far as the river. However, in breaking through, he killed none of their men, but the Greeks ¹⁴⁵ dividing, wounded his people

both with their swords and darts. Episthenes of Amphipolis commanded the targeteers, and is reported to have shewn great conduct upon this occasion. Tissaphernes, therefore, as sensible of his disadvantage, departed; when, coming to the camp of the Greeks, found the king there, and re-uniting their forces, they advanced, and presently came opposite to the left of the Greeks; who being afraid they should attack their wing, by wheeling to the right and left, and annoy them on both sides, they resolved to open that wing, and cover the rear with the river. While they were consulting upon this, the king ¹⁴⁶ marched by them, and drew up his army opposite to theirs, in the same order in which he first engaged: whereupon, the Greeks, seeing they drew near in order of battle, again sung the Pæan, and went on with much more alacrity than before; but the Barbarians did not stay to receive them, having fled sooner than the first time to a village, where they were pursued by the Greeks, who halted there; for there was an eminence above the village, upon which the king's forces faced about. He had no foot with him, but the hill was covered with horse, in such a manner that it was not possible for the Greeks to see what was doing. However, they said they saw the royal ensign there, which was a ¹⁴⁷ golden eagle with its wings extended, resting upon a spear. When the Greeks advanced towards them, the horse quitted the hill, not in a body, but some running one way and some another. However, the hill was cleared of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. Clearchus did not march up the hill with his men, but, halting at the foot of it, sent Lycius

the Syracusan, and another, with orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their report: Lycius rode up the hill, and, having viewed it, brought word that the enemy fled in all haste. Hereupon the Greeks halted (it being near sun-set), and, lying under their arms, rested themselves; in the mean time wondering that neither Cyrus appeared, nor any one from him, not knowing he was dead, but imagined that he was either led away by the pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself of some post: however, they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their baggage, or return to their camp. To the latter they resolved upon, and arriving at their tents about supper-time, found the greatest part of their baggage plundered, with all the provisions, besides the carriages, which, as it was said, amounted to four hundred, full of flour and wine, which Cyrus had prepared, in order to distribute them among the Greeks, lest at any time his army should labour under the want of necessaries; but they were all so rifled by the king's troops that the greatest part of the Greeks had no supper, neither had they eaten any dinner, for before the army could halt in order to dine, the king appeared. And in this manner they passed the night.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK II.

IN the foregoing book we have shewn, by what means Cyrus raised an army of Greeks, when he marched against his brother Artaxerxes; what was performed during his march, and in what manner the battle was fought; how Cyrus was killed; and the Greeks, thinking they had gained a comple victory, and that Cyrus was alive, returned to their camp, and betook themselves to rest. As soon as the day approached, the generals, being assembled, wondered that Cyrus neither sent them any orders or appeared himself; resolved therefore to collect what was left of their baggage, and armed themselves to move forward in order to join Cyrus; but just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the sun was risen, ¹Procles, who was governor of Teuthrania, a descendant from Damaratus the Lacedæmonian, and Glus, the son of ²Tamos, came to them, and declared that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus had left the field, and was retired, with the rest of the Barbarians, to the camp they had left the day before; where ³he said he would stay for them that day, if they thought fit to come; but that

the next, he should return to Ionia, whence he came. The generals, and the rest of the Greeks, hearing this, were greatly afflicted: and Clearchus, with astonishment, said, “⁴Would to God Cyrus was alive! but since he is dead, let Ariæus know, that we have overcome the king, and, as you see, meet with no further resistance, and that, if you had not come, we had marched against the king; at the same time, assure Ariæus from us, that if he will come hither, we will place him on the throne: for those who gain the victory, gain with it a right to command.” After he had said this, he directly sent back the messengers, together with Cherisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian: for Menon himself desired it, he being a friend to Ariæus, and engaged to him by an intercourse of hospitality. Clearchus staid till they returned, making provisions as well as he could, by killing the oxen and asses that belonged to the baggage; and, instead of other wood, made use of the arrows, which they found in great quantities in the field of battle, not far from the place where their army lay (and which the Greeks obliged the deserters to pull out of the ground), and also of the Persian bucklers, and the Egyptian shields, that were made of wood, besides a great many targets and empty waggons; with all which they dressed their victuals, and in this manner supported themselves that day.

It was now ⁵about the time the market is generally full, when the heralds arrived with the message from the king and Tissaphernes, all of whom were Barbarians (except Phalinus, who was a Greek, and happened then to be with Tissaphernes, by whom

he was much esteemed; for he pretended to understand tactics and the ⁶exercise of arms); who, after assembling together the Greek commanders, said, that the king, since he had gained the victory, and killed Cyrus, ordered the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and, repairing to ⁷court, endeavour to obtain some favourable terms from the king. The Greeks received this with much indignation; however, Clearchus said no more to them than that, "It was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms; but," addressing himself to the generals, "do you make the best and most becoming answer you can, and I will return immediately:" he being called out by one of his servants to inspect the entrails of the victim, which he was then offering up in sacrifice. Whereupon Cleanor the Arcadian, the oldest person present, made answer, "They would sooner die than deliver up their arms." Then Proxenus the Theban, said, "I wonder, O Phalinus! whether the king demands our arms as a conqueror, or, as a friend, desires them by way of present. If as a conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them? ⁸Why does he not rather come and take them? If he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the soldiers to expect in return for so great an obligation?" Phalinus answered, "The king looks upon himself as conqueror, since he has killed Cyrus; for who is now his rival in the empire? He looks upon you, also, as his property, since he has you in the middle of his country, surrounded by impassable rivers; and can bring such numbers of men against you, that though he delivered them up to you, your strength would fail you before you could put them all to death."

After him, Xenophon an Athenian, said, "You see, O Phalinus! that we have nothing now to depend upon,⁹ but our arms and our courage; and while we are masters of our arms, we think we can make use of our courage also; but that, when we deliver up these, we deliver up our persons too; do not therefore expect we shall deliver up the only advantages we possess; on the contrary, be assured, that with these we are resolved to fight with you, even for those you are in possession of." Phalinus, hearing this, smiled, and said,¹⁰ "Young man, indeed you seem to be a philosopher, and speak handsomely; but, believe me, you are mistaken, if you imagine that your courage will prevail over the power of the king." However, it was reported, that others, whose resolution began to fail, said, that, as they had been true to Cyrus, they would also be of great service to the king, if he were disposed to be their friend; and, that whatever commands he had for them, they would obey him, and, if he proposed¹¹ to invade Egypt, they would assist him in the conquest of it. In the mean time Clearchus returned, and asked if they had already given their answer. To whom Phalinus said, "These men, O Clearchus! say one, one thing, and another, another; but pray let us have your thoughts." To which he replied, "I rejoice, O Phalinus! to see you, as, I am persuaded, all these do, who are present; for you are a Greek as well as we, whom you see before you in so great numbers; wherefore, in our present circumstances, we desire you to advise us what we ought to do with regard to the proposals you bring;¹² and entreat you, by all the gods, give us that advice which you think

best, and most becoming, and which will do you most honour in the eyes of posterity, when it shall be said, that Phalinus, being sent by the king with orders to the Greeks that they should deliver up their arms, and, being consulted by them, gave them this advice: for you are sensible that your advice, whatever it is, must be reported in Greece." Clearchus insinuated this, with a view of engaging the king's ambassador himself to advise them not to deliver up their arms, that, by this means, the Greeks might entertain better hopes: but ¹³Phalinus artfully avoided the snare, and, contrary to his expectation, spoke as follows:

"If you had the least hope of a thousand to preserve yourselves by making war against the king, I should advise you not to deliver up your arms; but if you cannot hope for safety without his concurrence, I advise you to preserve yourselves by the only means you can." Clearchus replied, "This, I find, is your sense of the matter; and this answer you are desired to return from us, that we think, if it is proposed we should be friends to the king, we shall be more valuable friends by preserving our arms than by parting with them; and that, if we are to go to war with him, we shall make war with greater advantage by keeping our arms than by delivering them." Phalinus said, "I shall report this answer. However, the king ordered me also to let you know, that if you stay where you are, you will have peace; but if you advance or march back, you must expect war. Let me have your answer also to this; and whether I shall acquaint the king, that you will stay here and accept of peace, or that you

declare for war." Clearchus replied, "Let the king know, that in this we are of the same opinion with him." "What is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus answered, "If we stay, there may be peace, but if we march back, or advance, war." Phalinus again asked, "Shall I report peace or war?" Clearchus replied, "Peace, if we stay, and if we march back or advance, war;" but did not declare what he proposed to do. So Phalinus and those with him went away.

In the mean time Procles and Cherisophus came from Ariæus, leaving Menon with him, and brought word that Ariæus said, there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their king; but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next morning early. Clearchus answered, "What you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not, do whatever you think expedient to your advantage;" for he would not acquaint even these with his purpose. After this, when it was sun-set, he assembled the generals and captains, and spoke to them as follows: "Gentlemen, I have consulted the gods by sacrifice, concerning marching against the king; and the victims, with great reason, forbid it; for I am now informed, that between us and the king lies the Tigres, a navigable river, which we cannot pass without boats, and these we have not; neither is it possible for us to stay here, for we are without provisions. But the victims were very favourable to the design of joining Cyrus's friends. The order therefore we ought to pursue is this; let every man retire, and

sup upon what he has ; and when the horn sounds to rest, pack up your baggage ; when it sounds a second time, charge the sumpter horses ; and when a third, follow your leader, and let the baggage march next to the river, and the heavy-armed men cover it."

The generals and captains, hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed ; Clearchus having taken upon him the command of the army, who submitted to him, not as having elected him to that employment, but because they were sensible that he alone was equal to the command, the rest being without experience. They had made from Ephesus (a city of Ionia) to the field of battle ninety-three marches, which amounted to five hundred and thirty-five parasangas, or ¹⁴sixteen thousand and fifty stadia: ¹⁵and from the field of battle to Babylon, it was computed there were three thousand and sixty stadia.

After this, as soon as it was dark, Miltocythes, the Thracian, with his horse, being forty in number, and three hundred Thracian foot, deserted to the king. Clearchus, in the manner he had appointed, led the rest, and about midnight arrived at their first camp, where they found Ariæus with his army ; and the men being drawn up and standing to their arms, the generals and captains of the Greeks went in a body to Ariæus, and both they and he, with the most considerable men about him, took an oath not to betray one another, and to become allies. The Barbarians also swore that they would conduct them without deceit. This was the substance of their oath, which was preceded by the ¹⁶sacrifice of a boar, a bull, a wolf, and a ram, whose blood being

all mixed together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks dipped a sword therein, and the Barbarians a spear. When they had pledged their faith, Clearchus said, "Since, O Ariæus! your ¹⁷ route and ours are the same, say, what is your opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the same way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?" Ariæus answered, "If we return the same way we came, we shall all perish with hunger; since we are now entirely destitute of provisions: for, during the last seventeen days' march, we could supply ourselves with nothing out of the country, even in our way hither; and whatever was found there, we have consumed in our passage; so that though the way we now propose to take is longer, yet we shall be in no want of provisions. We must make our first marches as long as ever we can, to the end we may get as far as possible from the king's army: for if we can once gain two or three days' march of him, it will not after that be in his power to overtake us: since with a small army he will not dare to follow us, and with a great one he will not be able to make quick marches; it is also probable he may want provisions." This, says he, is my opinion.

This scheme for the march of the army was calculated for nothing but a retreat or a flight; but fortune proved a more glorious conductor. As soon, therefore as it was day they began their march, with the sun on their right, expecting to arrive by sunset at some villages that lay in the country of Babylon, and in this they were not mistaken. But ¹⁸ in the afternoon they thought they saw the enemy's

horse; upon which not only the Greeks, who happened to have left their ranks, ran to them in all haste, but Ariæus also, alighting (for being wounded he was carried in a chariot), put on his corslet, as did all those about him. But while they were arming, the scouts, who had been sent out, brought word, that they were not horse, but only sumpter horses at pasture; whence every one presently concluded that the king's camp was not far off, for a smoke also appeared in the neighbouring villages. However, Clearchus did not lead them against the enemy (for he knew the men were tired, and had eaten nothing all day; besides, it was late); neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the appearance of a flight; but leading them directly forward, at sun-set he quartered with the vanguard in the villages nearest to him, out of which the king's army had carried away even the timber that belonged to the houses. Those who arrived first, encamped with some kind of uniformity, but the others, who followed, coming up when it was dark, quartered as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another, that the enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the Greeks ran away, leaving even their tents; which being known the next day, no sumpter horses or camp appeared, neither was there any smoke to be seen in the neighbourhood; and the king himself, it seems, was struck at the approach of our army, by what he did the next day.

On the other side, the night advancing, the Greeks also were seized with fear, which was attended with a tumult and noise, usual in such cases; upon this,

Clearchus ordered Tolmides of Elis, the best crier of his time, whom he happened to have with him, to command silence, and make proclamation from the commanders, that whoever gave information of the person who had turned the ¹⁹ ass into the quarter of the heavy-armed men, should receive the reward of a ²⁰ silver talent. By this proclamation, the soldiers understood that their fear was vain, and their commanders safe. At break of day, Clearchus ordered the Greeks to stand to their arms in the same disposition they had observed in the action.

What I said concerning the king's being terrified at our approach, became then manifest; for, having sent to us the day before, demanding our arms, sent also heralds by sun-rise to treat of a truce: when, coming to the out-guards, inquired for the commanders. Clearchus, who was then viewing the ranks, ordered them to stay till he was at leisure; and, as soon as he had drawn up the army with much elegance, ²¹ the ranks being closed on all sides, and no unarmed men to be seen, sent for the messengers; came forward himself, attended by those of his soldiers who were the best armed, and most graceful in their persons, desiring the rest of the generals to do the like, and asked the messengers what they wanted? They replied, they were persons come to treat of a truce, being properly qualified to carry messages between the king and the Greeks. He answered, "Let the king know, that first we must fight: for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no man so hardy as to mention a truce to the Greeks, unless he first provides them a dinner." The messengers hereupon departed, but returning presently by which it ap-

peared that the king was near at hand, or some other person who was appointed to transact this matter) brought word, "the king thought their demand very reasonable," and that they had with them guides, who, if a truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place where they would find provisions. Clearchus then asked, whether the king proposed to comprehend those only in the truce who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to all? They said, "to all, till the king is informed of your proposals." Whereupon Clearchus, ordering them to withdraw immediately, held a council, where it was resolved to conclude a truce, and to march peaceably to the place where the provisions were, and supply themselves therewith. Clearchus said, "I join with you in this opinion; however, I will not directly acquaint the messengers with our resolution, but defer it till they ²² apprehend lest we should reject the truce. I imagine that our soldiers also will lie under the same apprehension." Therefore, when he thought it time, he let them know that he would enter into a truce, and immediately ordered the guides to conduct them where they might get provisions.

Clearchus, upon marching with his army in order of battle to conclude the truce, having himself taken charge of the rear, met with ditches and canals full of water, so that they were not able to pass without bridges, which they made with palm-trees, having found some lying upon the ground, and others they cut down. Upon this occasion it might be observed how equal Clearchus was to the command; for taking his pike in his left hand, and a ²³ staff in his right, if he saw

any of those he had appointed to this service, backward in the execution of it, he displaced him, and substituted a proper person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. He had appointed men of thirty years of age to this service; but, when those of a more advanced age saw Clearchus forwarding the work in person, they gave their assistance also. Clearchus pressed it the more, because he suspected the ditches were not always so full of water (for it was not the season to water the country), imagining the king had ordered the waters to be let out, with this view, that the Greeks might foresee great difficulties attending their march.

At last, coming to the villages, where the guides told them they might supply themselves with provisions, they found plenty of corn, and ²⁴ wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree, and also vinegar, drawn by boiling from the same fruit. These dates, such as we have in Greece, they give to their domestics; but those which are reserved for the masters, are chosen fruit, and worthy of admiration, both for their beauty and size, having in all respects the appearance of amber, and so delicious, that they are frequently dried for sweetmeats. The wine that was made of it was sweet to the taste, but apt to give the headach. Here the soldiers eat, for the first time, ²⁵ the pith of the palm-tree, many admiring both the ²⁶ figure and its peculiar sweetness, although it also occasioned violent headachs; but the palm-tree, whence this pith was taken, withered entirely. Here they staid three days; during which Tissaphernes,

with the queen's brother, and three other Persians, coming from the great king, attended by many slaves, were met by the Greek generals, when Tissaphernes, by an interpreter, first spoke in the following manner:

“I live, O Greeks! in the neighbourhood of Greece; and seeing you involved in many insuperable difficulties, looked upon it as a²⁷ piece of good fortune that I had room to request the king to allow me to conduct you safe into Greece; for I imagine I shall find no want of gratitude either in you or in the whole Greek nation; upon which consideration, I made my request to the king, alleging, that I had a title to this favour, because I was the first person who informed him that Cyrus was marching against him, and, together with this information, brought an army to his assistance: and also, because I was the only commander in that part of the army, opposite to the Greeks, who did not fly, but broke through, and joined the king in your camp, whither he came, after he had killed Cyrus; and, with these troops, here present, who are most faithful to him, I pursued the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus. These things, the king said, he would take into consideration; but commanded me to ask you, what motive induced you to make war upon him? I advise you to answer with temper, that I may, with the greater ease, obtain some favour for you, from the king.”

Upon this the Greeks withdrew, and, having consulted together, Clearchus made answer, “We did not come together with a design of making war upon the king, neither did we march against him: but Cyrus found many pretences, as you very well know,

that he might take you unprepared, and lead us hither. However, when we saw him in difficulties, our respect both to gods and men, would not allow us to abandon him, especially since we had formerly given ourselves leave to receive obligations from him: but since Cyrus is dead, we neither contend with the king for his kingdom, nor have any reason to desire to infest his country: neither do we mean to destroy him, but to return home, provided no one molests us; but if any man offers an injury to us, we shall, with the assistance of the gods, endeavour to revenge it. And if any one confers a favour on us, we shall not, to the utmost of our power, be behind-hand in returning it."

Tissaphernes, in answer to this, replied, "I shall acquaint the king, and immediately return with his sentiment; till then, ²⁸ let the truce continue: in the mean time, we will provide a market for you." The next day he did not return, which gave the Greeks some uneasiness; but the third day he came, and informed them, that "he had prevailed upon the king to allow him to conduct them safe to Greece, though many opposed it, alleging that it was ²⁹ unbecoming the dignity of the king to suffer those to escape who had made war upon him." He concluded thus: "And now you may rely upon the assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the country to treat you as friends, conduct you without guile into Greece, and provide a market for you: and wherever we do not provide one, we allow you to supply yourselves out of the country. On your side, you must take an oath to us, that you will march as through a friend's country, without doing

any damage to it, and only supply yourselves with meat and drink, when we do not provide a market for you; and when we do, that you will pay for what you want." This was agreed upon; and Tissaphernes, with the queen's brother, took the oath, and gave their hands to the Greek generals and captains, and received those of the Greeks; after which, Tissaphernes said, "I must now return to³⁰ the king, and, when I have dispatched what is necessary, I will come back to you with all things in readiness both to conduct you into Greece, and return myself to my own government."

Hereupon, the Greeks and Ariæus, being encamped near to one another, waited for Tissaphernes above twenty days: during which, the brothers, and other relations of Ariæus, came to him, and some of the Persians came to those who were with him, giving them encouragement, and assurances from the king, that he would forget their taking up arms against him in favour of Cyrus, and every thing else that was past. While these things were transacting, it was manifest that Ariæus and his people paid less regard to the Greeks: many of whom, therefore, being dissatisfied, came to Clearchus, and to the rest of the generals, saying, "Why do we stay here? Do we not know, that the king desires, above all things, to destroy us, to the end that all the rest of the Greeks may be deterred from making war against him? He now seduces us to stay, because his army is dispersed, which being re-assembled, it is not to be imagined but that he will attack us: possibly also he may obstruct our march, either by digging a trench, or raising a wall in some convenient place,

in such a manner as to render it impracticable.
³¹ For he will never willingly suffer us to return to Greece, and publish, that, being so few in number, we have defeated his army at the very gates of his palace, and returned in triumph."

Clearchus replied to those who alleged this:—
"I consider all these things as well as you; but I consider at the same time, that, if we now depart, it will be thought our intention is to declare war, and to act contrary to the terms of the truce; the consequence of which will be, that no one will provide a market for us, or a place where we may supply ourselves: besides, we shall have no guide to conduct us; and the moment we enter upon these measures, Ariæus will desert us; so that we shall presently have no friend left, and even those who were so before, will become our enemies. I do not know whether we have any other river to pass; but we all know that it is not possible for us to pass the Euphrates, if the enemy oppose it. If we are obliged to fight, we have no horse to assist us, whereas those of the enemy are very numerous, and very good; so that, if we conquer, how many shall we be able to kill? And, if we are conquered, none of us can possibly escape. Therefore I do not see why the king, who is possessed of so many advantages, should, if he desires to destroy us, think it necessary first to take an oath, and pledge his faith, then to provoke the gods by perjury, and shew both the Greeks and Barbarians, how little that faith is to be relied on." He said a great deal more to the same purpose.

In the mean time Tissaphernes arrived with his forces, as if he designed to return home, and with

him Orontas also with his men, and the king's daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, Tissaphernes leading the way, and providing them with a market. Ariæus marched at the head of the Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus, with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and encamped with them. The Greeks, being diffident of these, marched by themselves, having guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamped separately, at the distance of a parasanga or less; and were each upon their guard against one another, as against an enemy; and this immediately created a suspicion. Sometimes, while they were providing themselves with wood, forage, or other things of that nature, they came to blows; which also bred ill blood between them. After three days' march, they came to, and passed through the wall of Media,³² which was built with burned bricks laid in bitumen; being twenty feet in thickness, one hundred in height, and, as it was said, twenty parasangas in length, and not far from Babylon.

From thence they made, in two days' march, eight parasangas, and passed two canals, one upon a bridge, the other upon seven pontons.³³ These canals were derived from the Tigris; from them ditches were cut that ran into the country, the first, broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small water-courses, such as are used in Greece to water panic. Thence they came to the river Tigris, near which stood a large and populous city, called Sitace, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the river; the Greeks encamped close to the town, near a large and

beautiful ³⁴park, thick with trees of every kind, and the Barbarians on the other side of the Tigris, but out of sight of our army. After supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking before the ³⁵quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; when a man came and asked the out-guards, where he might ³⁶speak with Proxenus or Clearchus; but did not inquire for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, with whom Menon lived in ³⁷hospitality: and, when Proxenus told him he was the person he inquired after, the man said, "Ariæus and Artæzus, who were faithful to Cyrus, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand upon your guard, lest the Barbarians attack you to-night, there being numerous forces posted in the neighbouring park. They advise you also to send a detachment to guard the bridge over the Tigris, because Tissaphernes designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to pass the river, but be shut in between the Tigris and the canal." Hereupon they carried him to Clearchus, and informed him of what he said; upon which, Clearchus was in great trouble and consternation; when a young man, who was present, having considered the matter, said, "To attack us, and break down the bridge too, are things inconsistent; for it is plain, if they attack us, they must either conquer, or be conquered: if they conquer, why should they break down the bridge? for, in that case, though there were many bridges, we should have no place to retreat to with safety: on the other side, if we conquer them, and the bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no place

to fly to ; neither can the rest of their army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any assistance."

Clearchus, hearing this, asked the messenger, ³⁸ of what extent the country was, that lay between the Tigris and the canal : he answering ; it was of a large extent, and contained, besides villages, many large cities ; they concluded, that the Barbarians had sent this man insidiously, ³⁹ from an apprehension, lest the Greeks should not pass the bridge, but remain in the island, which was defended on one side by the Tigris and on the other by the canal ; where the country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with provisions, and afford them a retreat, if they were disposed to make war upon the king : after which, they went to rest ; however, they sent a detachment to guard the bridge ; but no attempt of any kind was made upon their camp, neither did any of the enemy come up to the bridge, as the guards informed us. The next morning, by break of day, they passed the bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven pontons, with all possible precaution : for, some of the Greeks, who were with Tissaphernes, sent word, that the enemy designed to attack them in their passage ; but this did not prove true. However, while they were passing the river, Glus appeared with some others, observing whether they passed it or not ; when, perceiving they did, he rode off.

From the Tigris they made, in four days' march, twenty parasangas, and came to the river Physcus, one hundred feet in breadth, having a bridge over it.

Here stood a large and populous city, called Opis, where they were met by a natural brother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was marching to the assistance of the king, at the head of a numerous army, which he had drawn out of Susa and Ecbatana ; and, causing his troops to halt, he took a view of the Greeks as they passed by him. Clearchus led his men two by two, standing still from time to time. Thus, while the vanguard halted, the whole army was obliged to stand still, which made their forces appear very numerous, even to the Greek themselves ; and the Persian was struck with the sight. From thence they made, in six days' march, thirty parasangas, through the desert part of Media, and arrived at the villages belonging to Parysatis, the mother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These Tissaphernes, to insult the memory of Cyrus, gave the Greeks leave to plunder of every thing but slaves ; by which means they found a great quantity of corn, ⁴⁰ cattle, and ⁴¹ other things. From thence they made twenty parasangas, in five days' march, through a desert, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of their first day's march, they saw a large and rich city, on the other side of the river, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians transported bread, cheese, and wine ⁴² upon rafts made of skins.

After that, they came to the river Zabatus, four hundred feet in breadth, where they staid three days, during which time, there were jealousies, but no evidence of treachery : Clearchus therefore resolved to have a conference with Tissaphernes, and, if possible, to put an end to these jealousies, before they broke out into hostilities : with this view he sent a person, to

let him know that he desired a conference with him. Tissaphernes having readily answered, "he might come;" Clearchus spoke thus, "I am sensible: O Tissaphernes! that we have sworn, and pledged our faith, not to do any injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are upon your guard against us, as against an enemy: and we, perceiving this, stand also upon our guard. But since, upon consideration, I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any mischief, and am very sure that we have not the least thought of hurting you, I judged it proper to have a conference with you, to the end that we might, if possible, extinguish our mutual diffidence: for I have known men, who, while, through calumnies or jealousies, they stood in fear of one another, have, with a view of inflicting a mischief before they received one, done irreparable injuries to those, who never had either the intention, or desire, to hurt them. As therefore I am of opinion that such mistakes are easiest removed by conferences, I come with an intention of convincing you, that you have no reason to distrust us: for to mention that first, which is of the greatest moment, our oaths, to which we have called the gods to witness, forbid us to be enemies; and that person who is conscious to himself of having neglected them, in my opinion can never be happy; for, whoever becomes the object of divine wrath, I know no swiftness can save him, no darkness hide him, no strong place defend him; since, in all places, all things are subject to their power, and every where they are equally lords of all. This is my opinion concerning both our oaths, and the gods, whom, by our

agreement, we have made the depositaries of our friendship. As to human advantages, I look upon you to be the greatest we can promise ourselves at this juncture; for, while we are with you, every road is pervious, every river passable, and we are sure to know no want: but without you, every road becomes obscure (for we are utterly unacquainted with them), every river impassable, every multitude terrible, and solitude the most terrible of all; for ⁴³ that is attended with the want of every thing. If therefore we should arrive to such a degree of madness as to put you to death, what should we do else but destroy our benefactor; and still have the king, the most powerful of all ⁴⁴ avengers, to contend with? I shall now let you see what hopes I should deprive myself of, if I endeavoured to hurt you. I desired to make Cyrus my friend, because I looked upon him as the most capable of all men living to serve those he wished well to. Now, I find, you have not only obtained the army, but the country, that belonged to Cyrus, as an accession to your own; and that the king's power, of which he felt the weight, is become your support. In these circumstances therefore, who would be so mad as not to desire to be your friend? Yet, further, I shall let you know upon what I found my hopes, that you will also desire to be a friend to us: I know the Mysians are troublesome to you; these, with the forces under my command, I hope I can oblige to submit to your power: I know the same thing of the Pisidians, and am informed that many other nations are in the same disposition, who, by my means, shall cease for ever to disturb your

happiness. I find you are incensed against the Egyptians, more than against any other nation, and cannot see what forces you can better employ than ours, to assist you in chastising them. If you desire to be a friend to any of your neighbours, your friendship, through our means, will become most valuable; and, if any of them molest you, you may, as their superior, destroy them by our assistance; for we shall not only be subservient to you for the sake of our pay, but also in return for the obligation we shall justly owe to you, as to our deliverer. When I consider all these things I am so much surprised to find you diffident of us, that I would willingly know the person, who is so powerful an orator as to persuade you, that we form designs against you." Tissaphernes answered him as follows:

"I am pleased, O Clearchus, to hear you speak with so much prudence; for, while you entertain these thoughts, if you should meditate any thing against me, you would, at the same time, act contrary to your own interest: but do you hear me in your turn, while I inform you, that you yourselves cannot, with justice, distrust either the king or me; for, if we were desirous to destroy you, do you think we are in any want of numerous horse, or foot to effect it? or of arms defensive and offensive, with which we have it in our power to do you mischief, without the danger of receiving any? Or do you think we want proper places to attack you? Are there not so many plains inhabited by our friends, through which you must march with great difficulty? So many mountains within your sight, over which your road lies,

and which, by our possessing ourselves of them, we can render impassable to you? So many rivers which afford us the advantage of choosing out what numbers of you we think proper to engage? Some of these you cannot even pass but by our assistance. But say we are inferior in all these; fire at least will prove superior to the fruits of the earth. By burning these, we can oppose famine to you, with which, though you are ever so brave, you will not be able to contend. Why, therefore, should we, who have so many opportunities of making war upon you, none of which carry any danger with them, choose the only one of all these, that is both impious and dishonourable; the refuge of those, who are destitute of all others, distressed and driven to extremities, and who, being at the same time wicked men, resolve to accomplish their designs through perjury towards the gods, and breach of faith towards men? We are not, O Clearchus! either so weak or so void of reason. When it was in our power to destroy you, why did we not attempt it? Be assured, the desire I had of approving my fidelity to the Greeks was the reason; and that, as Cyrus marched against the king, relying on foreign forces, from the pay he gave them, so I might return home supported by the same troops, from the obligations I had conferred on them. As to the many things in which you may be of service to me, some of them you have mentioned; but I know which is the greatest: It is the prerogative of the king to wear ⁴⁶an upright turban upon his head; but, with your assistance, possibly another may, with some confidence, wear it in his heart."

Clearchus, thinking all he said to be true, replied: "Since, therefore, we have so many motives to be friends, do not those, who, by calumnies, endeavour to make us enemies, deserve the severest punishment?"—"If you," says Tissaphernes, "with the rest of the generals and captains, think fit to come to me in public, I will acquaint you with those who aver that you have designs against me and my army."—"I will bring them all," says Clearchus; "and, at the same time, let you know, in my turn, whence I received my information concerning you." As soon as this conference was over, Tissaphernes shewed him great civility, and, desiring him to stay, entertained him at supper. The next day Clearchus, returning to the camp, made it manifest that he entertained very friendly thoughts of Tissaphernes, and gave an account of what he proposed. He said, those Tissaphernes demanded ought to go to him; and that the persons who were found to be the authors of these calumnies, ought to be punished as traitors and ill-affected to the rest of the Greeks: for he suspected Menon to be one of them, knowing that he and Ariæus had been in conference with Tissaphernes, and that he was forming a party against him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole army to a dependence upon himself; and, by that means, to recommend himself to Tissaphernes. Clearchus also himself was no less solicitous to engage the esteem of the whole army, and to remove those who opposed him: but some of the soldiers, in contradiction to him, said, that all the generals and captains ought not to go, neither

ought they to trust Tissaphernes. However, Clearchus so strongly insisted upon it, that he prevailed to have five generals and twenty captains sent to him: about two hundred soldiers followed, under colour of going to the market.

When they came to the door of Tissaphernes, the generals, Proxenus a Bœotian, Menon a Thesalian, Agias an Arcadian, Clearchus a Lacedæmonian, and Socrates an Achaian, were called in; the captains staid without. Not long after, at the same signal, those who were within were apprehended, and those without cut to pieces. After this, some of the Barbarian horse, scouring the plain, killed all the Greeks they met with, both freemen and slaves. The Greeks, from their camp, seeing these excursions of the horse, were surprised, and in doubt of what they were doing, till Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came flying from them, being wounded in the belly, and bearing his bowels in his hands, and informed them of all that had passed. Upon this, the Greeks were amazed, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their camp, ran to their arms. But they did not all come; only Ariæus, with Artæzus and Mithridates, came, persons who had shewn the greatest fidelity to Cyrus. However, the interpreter of the Greeks said, he saw the brother to Tissaphernes with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other Persians, clad in armour; who, when they drew near, ordered, if any generals or captains of the Greeks were present, they should advance, to the end they might acquaint them with the king's pleasure.

Upon this the generals, Cleanor, an Orchomenian, and Sophænetus, a Stymphalian, went out of the camp with great caution; and with them Xenophon, an Athenian, that he might learn what was become of Proxenus. (Cheirisophus happened to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting provisions in some village.) When they came within hearing, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Greeks! having been found guilty of a violation both of his oath and of the articles of peace, is justly punished with death; while Proxenus and Menon, for having given information of his designs, are in great honour. Of you, the king demands your arms, for he says they are his, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his ⁴⁷subject."

Hereupon the Greeks made answer, Cleanor the Orchomenian speaking in the name of the rest: "O Ariæus! thou most wicked of all men, and the rest of you, who were friends to Cyrus! have you no regard either to the gods or men? You who, after you have sworn to us to look upon our friends and enemies as your own, now conspire with Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all men, to betray us, and having ⁴⁸both destroyed those persons, to whom you gave your oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come with our enemies to invade us?" To this Ariæus answered, "But it first appeared that Clearchus was forming designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and all the rest of us." Upon this Xenophon replied, "If Clearchus, contrary to his oath, has been guilty of a violation of the peace, he is justly punished; for it is just, that those who are guilty of perjury should be put

to death. However, send Proxenus and Menon to us, since they are both your benefactors, and our commanders: for it is evident, that, being friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that which is best for both." To this the Barbarians made no answer, but, having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed.

The generals being thus apprehended, were carried ⁴⁹ to the king, by whose orders their heads were cut off. One ⁵⁰ of them, Clearchus, was allowed by all that knew him, to have been a man both of a military genius, and one who delighted in war to the last degree. For, as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he continued in the service of his country; but, after the peace, he persuaded his fellow-citizens that the Thracians oppressed the Greeks, and having prevailed on the Ephori, ⁵¹ by some means or other, he set sail with a design to make war upon the Thracians, who inhabit above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. After his departure, the Ephori, for some reasons, changed their minds, and recalled him from the Isthmus; but he refused to obey them, and sailed away for the Hellespont; whereupon he was condemned to die by the magistrates of Sparta, as guilty of disobedience. Being now a banished man, he comes to Cyrus, and by what means he gained his confidence, has been mentioned in another place. Cyrus gave him ten thousand ⁵² daricks. Having received this money, he did not give himself up to indolence, but, raising an army with it, made war upon the Thracians; and, overcoming them in battle, plundered their country, and continued the war, till

Cyrus had occasion for his army, when he departed, with a design of attending him in his expedition.

These, therefore, seem to be the actions of a man delighting in war, ⁵³ who, when it is in his power to live in peace without detriment or dishonour, prefers war; when to live in ease, chooses labour, with a view to war; and when to enjoy riches without danger, chooses rather, by making war, to diminish them: so that he spent his money in war as cheerfully as if it had been in gallantry, or any other pleasure: so much he delighted in it. His genius for war appeared by his forwardness to expose himself, and to attack the enemy either by night or day, and by his conduct in danger; as those who attended him upon all occasions universally acknowledged. He was said to have possessed the art of commanding, as far as could be expected from a man of his temper: for, being as capable as any other, of taking care his army was supplied with provisions, and of providing them, he was not less so of inspiring those who were present with a dread of disobeying Clearchus. This he effected by severity; for his look was stern and his voice harsh: he always punished with rigour, and frequently in passion; so that he sometimes repented it. But he also inflicted punishments with deliberation, looking upon an army without discipline to be of no service. He is reported to have said, that ⁵⁴ a soldier ought to fear his commander more than the enemy, if it is expected that he should do his duty upon guard, abstain from what belongs to a friend, or attack the enemy without reluctance. In dangers the men obeyed him absolutely, nor ever desired to be com-

manded by any other ; for they said his sternness seemed then changed to cheerfulness, and his severity to resolution ; so that they looked upon it no longer as severity, but as their preservation. However, when the danger was over, and they had an opportunity of serving under other commanders, many of them left him ; for he was not in the least gracious, but always rough and cruel : so that the soldiers were in the same disposition to him, as scholars to their master ; none ever following him out of friendship or good-will. Those who were appointed by his country, or compelled through want, or any other necessity, to serve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And, when they began to conquer under his command, many things concurred to make them good soldiers : for their confidence in their own strength, joined to their fear of him, made them observant. This was his character as a commander : but it was said that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died he was about fifty years of age.

Proxenus, the Bœotian, even from a child, was desirous of becoming equal to great employments ; and to satisfy this desire, gave a sum of money to ⁵⁵ Gorgias the Leontine. After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and, if he entered into the friendship of great men, to return all obligations, he engaged in this enterprize with Cyrus, whence he promised to himself great reputation, great power, and great riches : though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet, on the other side, his conduct plainly shewed that he did not desire to gain any of them

through injustice ; but that he ought to attain them with justice and honour, and not otherwise. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and a well-disciplined army ; but incapable of inspiring respect or fear, and stood in greater awe of his men than they of him ; it being visible, that he was more afraid of disobliging them than they of disobeying him. It was his opinion, that all which was required to be, and seem to be equal to the command, was to praise worthy men, and not to praise the unworthy ; for which reason he was beloved by men of worth and honour, while ill men were for ever forming designs against him, as against a man easy to be circumvented. He was about thirty years old when he died.

Menon, the Thessalian, did not either conceal his immoderate desire of riches, or his desire of commanding, in order to increase them ; or of being esteemed for the same reason. He desired to be well with those in power, that his injustice might escape punishment. He thought the shortest ways to accomplish his designs were perjury, falsehood, and deceit ; and that simplicity and truth were weaknesses. He was observed to have no affection for any man, and, where he professed a friendship, it was visible he designed to betray. He never spoke with contempt of an enemy, but was ever turning all those he conversed with into ridicule. He never formed any design against the possessions of an enemy (for he thought it difficult to rob those who were upon their guard), but looked upon himself as the only person that was sensible how very easy it is to seize the unguarded possessions of

a friend. He stood in fear of those whom he observed to be guilty of perjury and injustice, as of men well armed ; but practised upon persons of piety and truth, as upon those who are defenceless. And, as others value themselves upon religion, veracity, and justice ; so Menon valued himself upon being able to deceive, to invent falsehoods and abuse his friends ; and looked upon those as ignorant who were without guile. When he endeavoured to gain the first place in any man's friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself, was by slandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed by the soldiers, by becoming an accomplice in their crimes ; and aimed at being esteemed and courted, by shewing that he had both the power and the will to commit great injustice. If any one forsook him, he spoke of it as a favour, that while he made use of his service, he did not destroy him. Whatever is not publicly known in this man's character, may seem to be feigned, but the following particulars all the world is acquainted with :—While he was in the flower of his youth, he obtained the command of the mercenaries in the service of Aristippus. At that age also he was in great favour with Ariæus, a Barbarian, because he delighted in beautiful youths ; and before he himself had a beard, he had a bearded favourite, called Tharypas. When the rest of the generals suffered for having made war against the king with Cyrus, he, though equally guilty, did not lose his life ; but was afterwards punished with death by the king, not like Clearchus, and the rest of the generals, by losing his head,

which was looked upon as the most honourable death ; but, as it is said, after he had been tortured a whole year, like a malefactor.

Agiar the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achaian, were both put to death at the same time; these were without reproach both in war and friendship. They were then about forty years of age.

which was looked upon as the most honourable
death; but as it is said, after he had been tortured
a whole year, like a malefactor.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

They were then about forty years of age.

BOOK III.

IN the foregoing discourse, we have related the actions of the Greeks during the expedition of Cyrus, to the battle, and what happened after his death, when the Greeks marched away with Tissaphernes, upon the peace. After the generals were apprehended, and the captains and soldiers who accompanied them put to death, the Greeks were in great distress; knowing they were not far from the king's palace, surrounded on all sides with many nations and many cities, all their enemies; that no one would any longer supply them with provisions; that they were distant from Greece above ten thousand stadia, without a guide to conduct them, and their road thither intercepted by impassable rivers; that even those Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus, had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone, without any horse to assist them. By which it was evident, that if they overcame the enemy, they could not destroy a man of them in the pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome, not one of them could escape. These reflections so disheartened them, that few ate any thing that evening, few

made fires, and many that night never came to their ¹ quarter, ² but laid themselves down, every man in the place where he happened to be, unable to sleep through sorrow, and a longing for their country, their parents, their wives and children, whom they never expected to see again. In this disposition of mind they all laid down to rest.

There was in the army an Athenian, by name Xenophon, who, without being a general, a captain, or a soldier, served as a volunteer: for, having been long attached to Proxenus by the rights of hospitality, the latter sent for him from home, with a promise, if he came, to recommend him to Cyrus; from whom, he said, he expected greater advantages than from his own country. Xenophon having read the letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian concerning the voyage, who ³ fearing lest his country might look upon his attachment to Cyrus as criminal, because that prince was thought to have espoused the interest of the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians with great warmth, advised Xenophon to go to Delphos, and consult the god of the place concerning the matter. Xenophon went thither accordingly, and asked Apollo to which of the gods he should offer sacrifice, and address his prayers, to the end that he might perform the voyage he proposed in the best and most reputable manner, and, after a happy issue of it, return with safety. Apollo answered, that he should sacrifice to the proper gods. At his return, he acquainted Socrates with this answer; who blamed him because he had not asked Apollo in the first place, whether it were better for him to undertake this voyage, than to stay at home: but,

having himself first determined to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success: but since, says he, you have asked this, you ought to do what the god has commanded. Xenophon, therefore, having offered sacrifice to the gods, according to the direction of the oracle, set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardes ready to march towards the Upper Asia. Here he was presented to Cyrus, and Proxenus pressing him to stay, Cyrus was no less earnest in persuading him, and assured him, that, as soon as the expedition was at an end, he would dismiss him: this he pretended was designed against the Pisidians.

Xenophon, therefore, thus imposed on, engaged in the enterprize, though Proxenus had no share in the imposition, for none of the Greeks, besides Clearchus, knew it was intended against the king: but, when they arrived in Cilicia, every one saw ⁴the expedition was designed against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of ⁵a regard both to one another, and to Cyrus, followed him, and Xenophon was of this number. When the Greeks were in this distress, he had his share in the general sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he dreamed he thought it thundered, and that a flash of lightning fell upon his paternal house, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and looked upon his dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engaged in difficulties and dangers, he saw a great

light proceeding from Jupiter. On the other side he was full of fear, when he considered that this dream was sent by Jupiter the king, and that the fire, by blazing all round him, might portend that he should not be able to get out of the king's territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with difficulties.

However, the events, which were consequent to this dream, sufficiently explain the nature of it; for presently these things happened. As soon as he awoke, the first thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here? the night wears away, and as soon as the day appears, it is probable the enemy will come and attack us: and if we fall under the power of the king, ⁶ what can preserve us from being spectators of the most tragical sights, from suffering the most cruel torments, and from dying with the greatest ignominy? Yet no one makes preparation for defence, or takes any care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in quiet. From what city, therefore, do I expect a general to perform these things? what age do I wait for? But if I abandon myself to the enemy this day, I shall never live to see another. Upon this he rose, and first assembled the captains who had served under Proxenus; and when they were together, he said to them, "Gentlemen! I can neither sleep (which, I suppose, is your case also) nor lie any longer, when I consider the condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the enemy would not have declared war against us, had they not first made the necessary preparations; while on our side none takes any care how we may resist

them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the power of the king, what have we to expect from him who cut off the head and hand of his own brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake? How, then, will he treat us who have no support, and have made war against him, with a design to reduce him from the condition of a king to that of a subject, and, if it lay in our power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every extremity, to the end that, by torturing us in the most ignominious manner, he may deter all men from ever making war against him? We ought therefore to do every thing rather than fall into his hands. While the peace lasted, I own I never ceased to consider ourselves as extremely miserable, and the king, with those who belonged to him, equally happy. When I cast my eyes around, and beheld how spacious and beautiful a country they were masters of, how they abounded in provisions, slaves, cattle, gold, and rich apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the situation of our men, who had no share of all these advantages, without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our oaths forbade us to provide ourselves by any other means; when I reflected, I say, on these things, I was more afraid of peace than now I am of war. But since they have put an end to the peace, there seems to be an end also both of their insolence, and our jealousy. And these advantages lie now as a prize between us, to be given to the bravest. In this ⁷ combat the gods are the umpires, who will, with justice, declare in our favour, for our enemies have provoked them by

perjury, while we, surrounded with every thing to tempt us, have with constancy abstained from all, that we might preserve our oaths inviolate. So that, in my opinion, we have reason to engage in this combat with greater confidence than they. Besides, our bodies are more patient of cold, of heat, and of labour, than theirs, and our minds, with the divine assistance, more resolved. And if, as before, the gods vouchsafe to grant us the victory, their men will be more obnoxious to wounds and death. But possibly others may also entertain these thoughts. For heaven's sake then, let us not stay till those who do come and encourage us to glorious actions, but let us prevent them and excite even them to virtue. Shew yourselves the bravest of all the captains, and the most worthy to command of all the generals. As for me,⁸ if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with cheerfulness, and if you appoint me to be your leader, I⁹ shall not excuse myself by reason of my age, but think myself even in the vigour of it to repel an injury."

The captains, hearing this, all desired he would take upon him the command, except a certain person, by name Appollonides, who affected to speak in the Bœotian dialect. This man said, that whoever proposed any other means of returning to Greece, than by endeavouring to persuade the king to consent to it, talked impertinently; and, at the same time, began to recount the difficulties they were engaged in. But Xenophon, interrupting him, said, "Thou most admirable man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful

of what you hear. You were present when the king, after the death of Cyrus, exulting in his victory, sent to us to deliver up our arms; and when, instead of delivering them up, we marched out ready to give him battle, and encamped near him, what did he leave undone, by sending ambassadors, begging peace, and supplying us with provisions, till he had obtained it? And afterwards, when our generals and captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their arms, relying on the peace, what has been their treatment? Are not these unfortunate men daily scourged, ¹⁰tortured, and insulted, and forbid even to die, though I dare say they earnestly desire it? When you know all this, can you say that those who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk impertinently; and dare you advise us to sue again to the king for favour? For my part, gentlemen, I think we ought not to admit this man any longer into our company, but use him as he deserves, by removing him from his command, and employing him in carrying our baggage; for, by being a Greek with such a mind, he is a shame to his country, and dishonours all Greece."

Then Agasias of Stymphalus said, "This man has no relation to Bœotia, or to any other part of Greece; for, to my knowledge, both his ears are bored, like a Lydian." Which was found to be true: so they expelled him their company. The rest went to all the quarters of the army, and, where any generals were left, they called them up; where they were wanting, their lieutenants; and where there were any captains left, they called up

them. When they were all assembled, they placed themselves ¹¹ before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; the number of the generals and captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near midnight. Then Hieronymus of Elis, the oldest of all the captains, who had served under Proxenus, began thus: "Gentlemen, we have thought proper, in the present juncture, both to assemble ourselves, and call you together, to the end we may, if possible, consider of something to our advantage. Do you, O Xenophon! represent to them what you have laid before us." Upon this, Xenophon said:

"We are all sensible that the king, and Tissaphernes, have caused as many of us as they could to be apprehended, and it is plain they design, by the same treacherous means, if they can, to destroy the rest. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to attempt every thing, not only to prevent our falling under their power, but, if possible, to subject them to ours. Know then, that being assembled in so great numbers, you have the fairest of all opportunities; for all the soldiers fix their eyes on you: if they see you disheartened, their courage will forsake them; but if you appear resolute yourselves, and exhort them to do their duty, be assured they will follow you, and endeavour to imitate your example. It seems also reasonable that you should excel them in some degree, for you are their generals, their leaders, and their captains; and as in time of peace you have the advantage of them both in riches and honours, ¹² so now in time of war you ought to challenge the pre-eminence in courage,

in counsel, and, if necessary, in labour. In the first place then, it is my opinion, that you will do great service to the army, if you take care that generals and captains are immediately chosen in the room of those who are slain; since, without chiefs, nothing either great or profitable can be achieved upon any occasion, but least of all in war; for as discipline preserves armies, so the want of it has already been fatal to many. After you have appointed as many commanders as are necessary, I should think it highly seasonable for you to assemble and encourage the rest of the soldiers; for no doubt you must have observed, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their quarters, and how heavily they went upon guard: so that, while they are in this disposition, I don't know what service can, either by night or day, be expected from them. They have at present nothing before their eyes but sufferings: if any one could turn their thoughts to action, it would greatly encourage them; for you know, that neither numbers nor strength give the victory: but that side which, with the assistance of the gods, attacks with the greatest resolution, is generally irresistible. I have taken notice also, that those men who in war seek to preserve their lives at any rate commonly die with shame and ignominy; while those who look upon death as common to all and unavoidable, and are only solicitous to die with honour, oftener arrive at old age, and while they live, live happier. As therefore we are sensible of these things, it behoves us, at this critical juncture, both to act with courage ourselves, and to exhort the rest to do the same."

After him Cheirisophus said, "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you than that you were an Athenian: but now I commend both your words and actions, and wish we had many in the army like you, for it would be a general good. And now, gentlemen, let us lose no time: those of you who want commanders, depart immediately and choose them; and when that is done, come into the middle of the camp, and bring them with you; after that, we will call the rest of the soldiers hither, and let Tolmides the crier attend." Saying this, he rose up, that what was necessary might be transacted without delay. After this, Timasion, a Dardanian, was chosen general in the room of Clearchus; Xanthicles, an Achaian, in the room of Socrates; Cleanor, an Orchomenian, in the room of Agias, an Arcadian; Philysius, an Achaian, in the room of Menon; and Xenophon, an Athenian, in that of Proxenus.

As soon as the election was over, it being now near break of day, the officers advanced to the middle of the camp, and resolved first to appoint out-guards, and then to call the soldiers together. When they were all assembled, Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, first got up, and spoke as follows: "Soldiers, we are at present under great difficulties, being deprived of such generals, captains, and soldiers. Besides, the forces of Ariæus, who were before our auxiliaries, have betrayed us. However, we ought to emerge out of our present circumstances like brave men, and not be cast down, but endeavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious victory. If that is impossible, let us die with

honour, and never fall alive under the power of the enemy: for in that case we should suffer such things, as I hope the gods keep in store for them."

After him Cleanor, of Orchomenus, rose up and said, "You see, O soldiers! the perjury and impiety of the king, as well as the perfidy of Tis-saphernes, who amused us by saying that he lived in the neighbourhood of Greece, and should of all things be most desirous to carry us in safety thither. It was he that gave us his oath to perform this; he that pledged his faith; he that betrayed us, and caused our generals to be apprehended: and this he did in defiance even of ¹³Jupiter, the avenger of violated hospitality; for having entertained Clearchus at his table, by these arts he first deceived, and then destroyed our generals. Ariæus also, whom we offered to place upon the throne, with whom we were engaged by a mutual exchange of faith not to betray one another; this man, I say, without either fear of the gods, or respect for the memory of Cyrus, though of all others the most esteemed by him when alive, now revolts to his greatest enemies, and endeavours to distress us who were his friends. But of these may the gods take vengeance! It behoves us, who have these things before our eyes, not only to take care that these men do not again betray us, but also to fight with all possible bravery, and submit to what the gods shall determine."

Then Xenophon rose up, dressed for the war in the most gorgeous armour he could provide; for he thought, if the gods granted him victory, these ornaments would become a conqueror, and, if he

were to die, they would decorate his fall. He began in the following manner: "Cleanor has laid before you the perjury and treachery of the Barbarians; which, to be sure, you yourselves are no strangers to. If therefore we have any thoughts of trying their friendship again, we must be under great concern, when we consider what our generals have suffered, who, by trusting to their faith, put themselves in their power. But, if we propose to take revenge of them with our swords for what they have done, and persecute them for the future with war in every shape; we have, with the assistance of the gods, many fair prospects of safety." While he was speaking, one of the company sneezed: upon this the soldiers all at once adored the god. Then Xenophon said, "Since, O soldiers! while we were speaking of safety, Jupiter the preserver sent us an ¹⁴omen, I think we ought to make a vow to offer sacrifice to this god, in thanksgiving for our preservation, in that place where we first reach the territories of our friends; and also to the rest of the gods, in the best manner we are able. Whoever, then, is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands: then made their vows, and sung the Pæan. After they had performed their duty to the gods, he went on thus:—

"I was saying that we had many fair prospects of safety. In the first place, we have observed the oaths, to which we called the gods to witness, while our enemies have been guilty of perjury, and have violated both their oaths and the peace. This being so, we have reason to expect the gods will declare against them, and combat on our side: and

they have it in their power, when they think fit, soon to humble the high, and with ease to exalt the low, though in distress. Upon this occasion, I shall put you in mind of the dangers our ancestors were involved in, in order to convince you that it behoves you to be brave, and that those who are so, are preserved by the gods amidst the greatest calamities: ¹⁵for, when the Persians, and their allies, came with a vast army to destroy Athens, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, overcame them; and having made a vow to Diana to sacrifice as many goats to her as they killed of the enemy, when they could not find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year: and even to this day they offer sacrifice in thanksgiving for that victory. ¹⁶Afterwards when Xerxes invaded Greece, with an innumerable army, then it was that our ancestors overcame the ancestors of these very men, both by sea and land; of which the trophies that were erected upon that occasion, are lasting monuments still to be seen. But of all monuments, the most considerable is the liberty of those cities, in which you have received your birth and education: for you pay adoration to no other master but the gods. From such ancestors are you descended: neither can I say that you are a dishonour to them, since, within these few days, you ¹⁷engaged the descendants of those men, many times superior to you in number, and, with the assistance of the gods, defeated them. Then you fought to place Cyrus on the throne, and in his cause fought bravely: now your own safety is at stake, you ought certainly to shew more courage and alacrity.

You have also reason now to entertain a greater confidence in your own strength than before ; for though you were then unacquainted with the enemy, and saw them before you in vast numbers, however you dared to attack them with the spirit of your ancestors : whereas, now you have had experience of them, and are sensible, that though they exceed you many times in number, they dare not stand before you, why should you any longer fear them ? Neither ought you to look upon it as a disadvantage, that the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, who before fought on your side, have now forsaken you ; for they are yet worse soldiers than those we have already overcome.

“ They have left us, therefore, and are fled to them : and it is our advantage that those who are the first to fly, should be found in the enemy’s army rather than in our own. If any of you are disheartened because we have no horse, in which the enemy abound, let them consider that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men ; for no one was ever killed in an action by the bite or kick of a horse. The men do every thing that is done in battle. But further, we are steadier upon the ground than they on horseback : for they, hanging upon their horses, are not only afraid of us, but also of falling ; while we, standing firmly upon the ground, strike those who approach us with greater force, and a surer aim. The horse have but one advantage over us ; they can fly with greater security. But if you are confident of your strength in battle, yet look upon it as a grievance that Tissaphernes will no longer conduct us, or the king sup-

ply us with a market; consider which is the most advantageous, to have Tissaphernes for our conductor, who, 'tis plain, has betrayed us, or such guides as we shall make choice of, who will be sensible that, if they mislead us, they must answer it with their lives. Consider also whether it is better for us to purchase, in the markets they provide, small measures for great sums of money, which we are no longer able to furnish, or, if we conquer, to make use of no other measure but our will. If you are convinced that these things are best in the way they are in, but think the rivers are not to be repassed, and that you have been greatly deluded in passing them, consider with yourselves whether the Barbarians have not taken very wrong measures even in this; for all rivers, though, at a distance from their springs, they may be impassable, yet if you go to their sources, you will find them so easily fordable, as not even to wet your knees. But if the rivers refuse us passage, and no guide appears to conduct us, even in that case we ought not to be disheartened; for we know that the Mysians, who are certainly not braver men than ourselves, inhabit many large and rich cities in the king's territories against his will. The Pisidians, we also know, do the same. We have ourselves seen the Lycaonians, who, after they had made themselves masters of the strong places that command the plains, enjoy the product of the country. And I should think we ought not yet to betray a desire of returning home; but prepare every thing as if we proposed to settle here: for I am well assured that the king would grant many guides to the Mysians, and give

them many hostages, as a security, to conduct them out of his territories without fraud; he would even level the roads for them, if they insisted upon being sent away in chariots. And I am convinced he would, with great alacrity, do the same for us, if he saw us disposed to stay here: but I am afraid, if once we learn to live in idleness and plenty, and converse with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we shall, like the ¹⁸ Lotophagi, forget to return home. It seems therefore to me both just and reasonable that we first endeavour to return to Greece, and to our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since it is in their power to bring their poor hither and enrich them; for all these advantages, gentlemen! are the rewards of victory. The next thing I shall mention to you is, in what manner we may march with the greatest security, and, if necessary, fight with the greatest advantage. In the first place," continued he, "I think we ought to burn all the carriages, that the care of them may not influence our march, but that we may be directed in it by the advantage of the army. After that, we ought to burn our tents also; for they are troublesome to carry, and of no use either in fighting or in supplying ourselves with provisions. Let us also rid ourselves of all superfluous baggage, and reserve only those things that are of use in war, or for our meat and drink; to the end as many of us as possible may march in their ranks, and as few be employed in carrying the baggage; for the conquered, you know, have nothing they can call their own; and, if we conquer, we

ought to look upon the enemy as servants to be employed in carrying our baggage. It now remains that I speak to that which is, in my opinion, of the greatest consequence. You see that even the enemy did not dare to declare war against us, till they had seized our generals; for they were sensible that, while we had commanders, and yielded obedience to them, we were able to conquer them: but having seized our commanders, they concluded that we should, from a want of command and discipline, be destroyed. It is necessary, therefore, that our present generals should be more careful than the former, and the soldiers more observant, and more obedient to them than to their predecessors; and if you make an order, that whoever of you happens to be present, shall assist the commander in chastising those who are guilty of disobedience, it will be the most effectual means to frustrate the designs of the enemy; for, from this day, instead of one Clearchus, they will find ¹⁹a thousand, who will suffer no man to neglect his duty. But it is now time to make an end, for it is probable the enemy will presently appear; and if you approve of any thing I have said, ratify it immediately, that you may put it in execution. But if any other person thinks of any thing more proper, though a private man, let him propose it; for our preservation is a general concern."

After that, Cheirisophus said, "If it is necessary to add any thing to what Xenophon has laid before us, it may be done by and by: at present I think we ought to ratify what he has proposed, and whoever is of that opinion, let him hold up his hand:"

and they all held up their hands. Then Xenophon, rising up again, said, "Hear then, O soldiers! what, in my opinion, we are to expect. It is evident that we must go to some place where we may get provisions. I am informed there are many fair villages not above twenty stadia from hence; I should not therefore be surprized if the enemy, like cowardly dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite those who pass by, but fly from those who pursue them, should also follow us when we begin to move. Possibly, therefore, we shall march with greater safety, if we dispose the heavy-armed men in an hollow square, to the end the baggage, and the great number of those who belong to it, may be in greater security. If then we now appoint the proper persons to command the front, each of the flanks, and the rear, we shall not have to consider of this, when the enemy appears; but shall presently be ready to execute what we have resolved. If any other person has any thing better to propose, let it be otherwise: if not, let Cheirisophus command the front,²⁰ since he is a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest generals command the flanks; and Timasion and myself, who are the youngest, will, for the present, take charge of the rear. Afterwards, when we have had experience of this disposition, we may consider what is best to be done, as occasion offers. If any one thinks of any thing better, let him mention it." But nobody opposing what he offered, he said, "Let those who are of this opinion hold up their hands;" so this was resolved. "Now," says he, "you are to depart, and execute what is determined: and whoever among you desires to return to

his family, let him remember to fight bravely, for this is the only means to effect it: whoever has a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer: for the part of the conqueror is to inflict death, that of the conquered to receive it. And if any among you covet riches, let him endeavour to overcome: for the victorious not only preserve their own possessions, but acquire those of the enemy."

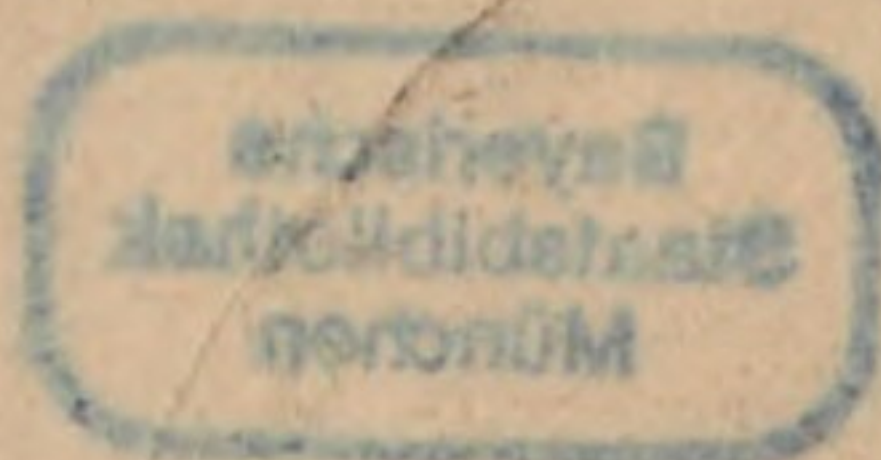
After he had said this, they all rose up, and, departing, burnt their carriages and tents: as for the superfluous part of their baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the fire, and then went to dinner. While they were at dinner, Mithridates advanced with about thirty horse, and, desiring the generals might come within hearing, he said, "O Greeks! I was faithful to Cyrus, as you yourselves know, and now wish well to you; and do assure you, that while I remain here, I am under great apprehensions. So that if I saw you taking salutary resolutions, I would come over to you and bring all my people with me. Inform me therefore of what you resolve, for I am your friend and well-wisher, and desire to join you in ²¹ your march." After the generals had consulted together, they thought proper to return this answer, Cheirisophus speaking in the name of the rest.— "We resolve," says he, "if we are suffered to return home, to march through the country with as little damage to it as possible; but, if any one opposes our march, to fight our way through in the best manner we are able." Mithridates, upon this, endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for them to return in safety, without the king's consent.

This rendered him suspected; besides, one belonging to Tissaphernes was in his company, as a spy upon him. From this time forward, the generals determined that they would admit of no further treaty while they continued in the enemy's country: for, by coming in this manner, they not only debauched the soldiers, but Nicharchus, an Arcadian, one of the captains, who deserted to them that night with about twenty men.

As soon as the soldiers had dined, the army passed the river Zabatus, and marched in order of battle, with the baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle. They had not gone far, before Mithridates appeared again with about two hundred horse, and four hundred archers and slingers, very light and fit for expedition. He advanced as a friend; but when he came near, immediately both the horse and foot discharged their arrows; the slingers also made use of their slings, and wounded some of our men, so that the rear of the Greeks received great damage, without being able to return it—for the bows of the Cretans did not carry so far as those of the Persians. The former also, being lightly armed, had sheltered themselves in the middle of the heavy-armed men; neither could our darters reach their slingers. Xenophon, seeing this, resolved to pursue the enemy; and the heavy-armed men and targeteers, who were with him in the rear, followed the pursuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the Greeks had no horse, and their foot could not, in so short a space, overtake those of the enemy who had so much the start of them. Neither durst they in the pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest

of the army; for the Barbarian horse wounded them even as they fled, shooting backward from their horses; and as far as the Greeks were advanced in the pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat fighting—insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty stadia all that day; however, in the evening they arrived in the villages. Here the troops were again disheartened, and Cheirisophus, with the oldest generals, blamed Xenophon for leaving the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

Xenophon, hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the event. “But,” says he, “I was under a necessity of pursuing the enemy, since I saw our men suffer great damage by standing still, without being able to return it; but when we were engaged in the pursuit,” continued he, “we found what you say to be true; for we were not more able to annoy the enemy than before, and retreated with great difficulty. We have reason, therefore, to thank the gods that they came upon us only with a small force and a few troops, so that, instead of doing us great damage, they have taught us our wants. For now the enemy’s archers and slingers wound our men at a greater distance than either the Cretans or the darters can reach them; and when we pursue them, we must not separate ourselves far from the main body; and in a short space our foot, though ever so swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to reach them with their arrows. If we mean therefore to hinder them from disturbing us in our march, we must immediately provide ourselves with slingers



and horse. I hear there are Rhodians in our army, the greatest part of whom, they say, understand the use of the sling, and that their slings carry twice as far as those of the Persians, who, throwing ²²large stones, cannot offend their enemy at a great distance: whereas the Rhodians, besides stones, make use of leaden balls. If therefore we inquire who have slings, and pay them for them, and also give money to those who are willing to make others, granting at the same time some other immunity to those who voluntarily list among the slingers, possibly some will offer themselves who may be fit for that service. I see also horses in the army, some belonging to me, and some left by Clearchus; besides many others that we have taken from the enemy, which are employed in carrying the baggage. If, therefore, we choose out all the best of these, and accoutre them for the horse, giving to the owners ²³sumpter horses in exchange, possibly these also may annoy the enemy in their flight." These things were resolved upon, and the same night two hundred slingers listed themselves. The next day proper horses and horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and ²⁴buff coats and corselets were provided for them, and the command of them was given to Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian.

That day the army staid in the same place, and the next they began their march, earlier than usual, for they had a ²⁵valley formed by a torrent to pass, and were afraid the enemy should attack them in their passage. As soon as they had passed it, Mithridates appeared again with a thousand horse,

and four thousand archers and slingers; for so many Tissaphernes had granted him, at his desire, and upon his undertaking, with that number, to deliver the Greeks into his power: for having, in the last action, with a small force, done them (as he imagined) great damage, without receiving any, he had a contempt for them. When the Greeks were advanced about eight stadia beyond the valley, Mithridates also passed it with the forces under his command. The Greek generals had given orders to a certain number, both of the targeteers and heavy-armed men, to follow the chace, and also to the horse to pursue them boldly, with assurance that a sufficient force should follow to sustain them. When, therefore, Mithridates overtook them, and was now within reach of their slings and arrows, the trumpet sounded, and those of the Greeks, who had orders, immediately attacked the enemy, the horse charging at the same time. However, the Persians did not stand to receive them, but fled to the valley. In this pursuit, the Barbarians lost many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horse were taken prisoners in the valley. The Greeks, of their own accord, mangled the bodies of those that were slain, to create the greater horror in the enemy.

After this defeat the Persians retired, and the Greeks, marching the rest of the day without disturbance, came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called ²⁶Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangas in circuit; all built with bricks,

except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high. This city, when besieged by the king of Persia, at the time the Persians were wresting the empire from the Medes, he could not make himself master of it by any means; when it happened that ²⁷the sun, obscured by a cloud, disappeared, and the darkness continued till, the inhabitants being seized with consternation, the town was taken. Close to the city stood a ²⁸pyramid of stone, one hundred feet square, and two hundred high, in which a great number of Barbarians who fled from the neighbouring villages, had conveyed themselves.

Thence they made, in one day's march, six parasangas, to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town, called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by the Medes. The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth, and as many in height. Upon this stood a brick wall fifty feet also in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangas in circuit. Here Media, the king's consort, is said to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of the empire by the Persians. When the Persian king besieged this city, he could not make himself master of it either by length of time or force; but Jupiter ²⁹having struck the inhabitants with a panic fear, it was taken.

From this place they made, in one day's march, four parasangas. During their march Tissaphernes appeared with his own horse, and the forces of Orontas, who had married the king's daughter, together with those Barbarians who had served under

Cyrus in his expedition; to these was added the army which the king's brother had brought to his assistance, and the troops the king had given him. All these together made a vast army. When he approached, he placed some of his forces against our rear, and others against each of our flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a battle: however, he ordered his men to use their slings and bows. But when the Rhodians, who were disposed in platoons, began to make use of their slings, and the Cretan bowmen, in imitation of the Scythians, discharged their arrows, none of them missing the enemy (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavoured it) both Tissaphernes himself quickly got out of their reach, and the other divisions retired. The remaining part of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the others followed without harassing them any more with skirmishes: for the slings of the Rhodians not only carried further than those of the Persians, but even than most of the archers could throw their arrows. The Persian bows are long, so that their arrows, when gathered up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to make use of them, and accustomed themselves to take a great elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable quantity of bow-strings in the villages, and some lead, both which were employed for the slings.

This day, after the Greeks were encamped in the villages, the Barbarians, having suffered in the skirmish, retired: the next the Greeks staid where they were, and made their provisions; for there

was plenty of corn in the villages. The day after, they marched over the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, harassing them at a distance. Upon this occasion the Greeks observed that an equilateral square was not a proper disposition for an army when pursued by the enemy: for whenever the square has a narrow road, a defile between hills, or a bridge to pass, the wings must close, and consequently the heavy-armed men be forced out of their ranks, and march uneasily, being both pressed together and disordered; so that of necessity they become useless for want of order. On the other side, when the wings come to be again extended, the men who before were forced out of their ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an opening in the centre, which very much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the enemy is at their heels. Besides, when they have a bridge, or any other defile to pass, every man is in a hurry, wanting to be first, upon which occasion the enemy has a fair opportunity of attacking them. After the generals had discovered this, they formed six companies of one hundred men each, whom they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed officers to all of them. The captains of these companies, upon a march, when the wings closed, staid behind, so as not to disorder the rear, they at that time marching clear of the wings. And when the sides of the square came to be again extended, ³⁰they then filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, with the companies of one hundred men each; if larger, with those of fifty; and if very large, with those of

five-and-twenty ; so that the centre was always full. If therefore the army were to pass any defile or bridge, there was no confusion, the captains of these several companies bringing up the rear ; and if a detachment were wanted upon any occasion, these were always at hand. In this disposition they made four marches.

While they were upon their march the fifth day, they saw a palace and many villages lying round it. The road which led to this palace lay over high hills, that reached down from the mountain, under which there stood a village. The Greeks were rejoiced to see these hills, and with great reason, the enemy's forces consisting in horse. But after they had left the plain, and ascended the first hill, while they were descending thence in order to climb the next, the Barbarians appeared, and from the eminence showered down upon them, under ³¹the scourge, darts, stones, and arrows. They wounded many, and had the advantage over the Greek light-armed men, forcing them to retire within the body of the heavy-armed ; so that the slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with those who had charge of the baggage. And when the Greeks, being thus pressed, endeavoured to pursue the enemy, as they were heavy-armed men, they moved slowly to the top of the mountain, while the enemy retreated ; and when the Greeks retired to their ³²main body, the same thing happened to them again. They found the same difficulty in passing the second hill ; so that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed men from the third hill ; but instead of that, brought up

the targeteers to the top of the mountain from the right of the square. When these were got above the enemy, they no longer molested our men in their descent, fearing to be cut off from their own body, and that we should attack them on both sides. In this manner we marched the rest of the day, some in the road upon the hills, and others abreast of them upon the mountain, till they came to the villages; when they appointed eight³³ surgeons, for there were many wounded.

Here they staid three days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of provisions, as wheat-meal, wine, and a great quantity of barley for horses—all which was laid up for the satrape of the country. The fourth day they descended into the plain, where, when Tissaphernes had overtaken them with the army under his command, he taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for some being wounded, some employed in carrying those who were so, and others in carrying the arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a condition to fight. But, when they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the village, offered to skirmish, the Greeks had greatly the advantage of them; for they found a great difference between sallying from their camp to repulse the enemy, and being obliged to march fighting, whenever they were attacked. When the evening approached, it was time for the Barbarians to retire; because they never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, for fear these should fall upon them in the night. A Persian

army being then subject to great inconveniences, for their horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away; and, if an alarm happens, a Persian has the ³⁴housing to fix, his horse to bridle, and his corslet to put on, before he can mount. All these things cannot be done in the night without great difficulty, particularly if there is an alarm. For this reason they always encamped at a distance from the Greeks. When these perceived they designed to retire, and that the word was given, they, in the enemy's hearing, received orders to make ready to march; whereupon the Barbarians made a halt; but when it grew late they departed; for they did not hold it expedient to march and arrive at their camp in the night.

When the Greeks plainly saw they were retired, they also decamped, and marching away, advanced about sixty stadia. The two armies were now at so great a distance from one another, that the enemy did not appear either the next day or the day after. But, on the fourth, the Barbarians having got before the Greeks in the night, possessed themselves of an eminence that commanded the road through which the Greeks were to pass. It was the brow of a hill, under which lay the descent into the plain. As soon as Cheirisophus saw this eminence possessed by the enemy, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and desired him to bring up the targeteers to the front. Xenophon did not take these with him (for he saw Tissaphernes advancing with his whole army) but, riding up to him himself, said, "Why do you send for me?" Cheirisophus answered, "You see the enemy have possessed themselves of the hill that

commands the descent, and unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but," adds he, "why did you not bring the targeteers with you?" Xenophon replied, because he did not think proper to leave the rear naked, when the enemy was in sight: "but," says he, "it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those men." Here Xenophon observing the top of the mountain that was above their own army, found there was a passage from that to the hill where the enemy was posted. Upon this he said, "O Cheirisophus! I think the best thing we can do, is to gain the top of this mountain as soon as possible; for, if we are once masters of that, the enemy cannot maintain themselves upon the hill. Do you stay with the army, if you think fit, I will go up to the hill; or, do you go, if you desire it, and I will stay here." Cheirisophus answered, "I give you your choice;" to this Xenophon replied, that, as he was the younger man, he chose to go; but desired he would send with him some troops from the front, since it would take a great deal of time to bring up a detachment from the rear. So Cheirisophus sent the targeteers that were in the front: Xenophon also took those that were in the middle of the square. Besides these, Cheirisophus ordered the three hundred chosen men, who attended on himself in the front of the square, to follow him.

After that they marched with all possible expedition. The enemy, who were upon the hill, the moment they saw them climb the mountain, advanced at the same time, striving to get there before them. Upon this occasion there was a vast shout

raised both by the Greek army, and that of Tissaphernes, each encouraging their own men. And Xenophon, riding by the side of his troops, called out to them, "Soldiers! think you are this minute contending to return to Greece, this minute to see your wives and children: after this momentary labour we shall go on without any further opposition." To whom Soteridas the Sicyonian said, "We are not upon equal terms, O Xenophon! for you are on horseback, while I am greatly fatigued with carrying my shield." Xenophon hearing this, leaped from his horse, and thrust him out of his rank; then, taking his shield, marched on as fast as he could. He happened to have a horseman's corslet on at that time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their pace, and to those behind, who followed with great difficulty, to come up. The rest of the soldiers beat and abused Soteridas, and threw stones at him, till they obliged him to take his shield, and go on. Then Xenophon remounted, and led them on horseback, as far as the way would allow; and, when it became impassable for his horse, he hastened forward on foot. At last they gained the top of the mountain, and prevented the enemy.

Hereupon, the Barbarians turned their backs, and fled every one as he could; and the Greeks remained masters of the eminence. Tissaphernes and Ariæus with their men, turning out of the road, went another way; while Cheirisophus with his forces came down into the plain, and encamped in a village abounding in every thing. There were also many other villages in this plain, near the Tigris,

full of all sorts of provisions. In the evening the enemy appeared on a sudden in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks, who were dispersed in plundering; for many herds of cattle were taken, as the people of the country were endeavouring to make them pass the river. Here Tissaphernes and his army attempted to set fire to the villages; whereby some of the Greeks were disheartened, from the apprehension of wanting provisions if he burned them. About this time Cheirisophus and his men came back from relieving their companions, and Xenophon, being come down into the plain, and riding through the ranks, after the Greeks were returned, said, "You see, O Greeks! the enemy already acknowledge the country to be ours; for, when they made peace with us, they stipulated that we should not burn the country belonging to the king, and now they set fire to it themselves; as if they looked upon it no longer as their own. But, wherever they leave any provisions for themselves, thither also they shall see us direct our march. But, O Cheirisophus! I think we ought to attack these burners, as in defence of our own country." Cheirisophus answered, "I am not of that opinion. On the contrary, let us also set fire to it ourselves, and by that means they will give over the sooner."

When they came to their tents, the soldiers employed themselves in getting provisions, and the generals and captains assembled, and were in great perplexity: for, on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other, a river so deep, that, when they sounded it with their pikes, the

ends of them did not even appear above the water. While they were in this perplexity, a certain Rhodian came to them, and said, "Gentlemen, I'll undertake to carry over ³⁵four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you'll supply me with what I want, and give me ³⁶a talent for my pains." Being asked what he wanted, "I shall want," says he, "two thousand leather bags. I see here great numbers of sheep, goats, oxen, and asses: if these are flayed, and their skins blown, we may easily pass the river with them. I shall also want the girths belonging to the sumpter horses: with these," adds he, "I will fasten the bags to one another, and hanging stones to them, let them down into the water instead of anchors, then tie up the bags at both ends, and when they are upon the water, lay fascines upon them, and cover them with earth. I will make you presently sensible," continues he, "that you can't sink, for every bag will bear up two men, and the fascines and the earth will prevent them from slipping."

The generals, hearing this, thought the invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in practice; there being great numbers of horse on the other side of the river to oppose their passage, and these would at once break all their measures. The next day the army turned back again, taking a different road from that which leads to Babylon, and marched to the villages that were not burned, setting fire to those they abandoned, insomuch that the enemy did not ride up to them, but looked on, wondering which way the Greeks meant to take, and what

their intention was. Here, while the soldiers were employed in getting provisions, the generals and captains re-assembled, and, ordering the prisoners to be brought in, ³⁷ inquired concerning every country that lay round them. The prisoners informed them that there was to the south a road that led to Babylon and Media, through which they came; another to the east, leading to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king is said to pass the summer and the spring; a third to the west, over the Tigris, to Lydia and Ionia; and that the road, which lay over the mountains to the north, led to ³⁸ the Carduchians. This people, they said, inhabited those mountains, and that they were a warlike nation, and not subject to the king; and that once the king's army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, penetrated into their country, whence not one of them returned, the roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a peace subsisting between them and the governor residing in the plain, there was an intercourse between the two nations.

The generals, hearing this, kept those prisoners by themselves from whom they received the intelligence of each country, without discovering what route they designed to take. However, they found there was a necessity to pass the mountains, and penetrate into the country of the Carduchians: for the prisoners informed them, that as soon as they had passed through it, they should arrive in Armenia, which was a spacious and plentiful country, and of which Orontas was governor; whence

they might without difficulty march which way soever they pleased. Upon this they offered sacrifice, to the end that when they found it convenient they might depart (for they were afraid the pass over the mountains might be possessed by the enemy), and commanded the soldiers, as soon as they had supped, to get their baggage ready, then all to go to rest, and march upon the first order.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK IV.

WE have hitherto given an account of what happened in the expedition of Cyrus to the time of the battle ; of what happened after the battle, during the truce concluded between the king and the Greeks who had served under Cyrus ; and in what manner, after the king and Tissaphernes had broken the truce, the Greeks were harassed, while they were followed by the Persian army.

When the Greeks came to the place, where the river Tigris is, both from its depth and breadth, absolutely impassable, and no road appeared, the craggy mountains of the Carduchians hanging over the river, the generals resolved to march over those mountains : for they were informed by the prisoners, that, after they had passed them, they would have it in their power to cross the head of the Tigris, in Armenia, if they thought proper ; if not, to go round it. ¹The source of the Euphrates also was said not to be far distant from that of the Tigris : and, indeed, the distance between these two rivers is in some places but small. To the end, therefore, that the enemy might not be acquainted with their design

of penetrating into the country of the Carduchians, and defeat it, by possessing themselves of the eminences, they executed it in the following manner: When it was ²about the last watch, and so much of the night was left, as to allow them to traverse the plain while it was yet dark, they decamped, and, marching when the order was given, came to the mountain by break of day. Cheirisophus commanded the vanguard with his own people, and all the light-armed men; and Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed, having none of the light-armed, because there seemed no danger of the enemy's attacking their rear, while they were marching up the mountain. Cheirisophus gained the top before he was perceived by the enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the army, as fast as they passed the summit, followed him into the villages, that lay dispersed in the valleys and recesses of the mountains.

Upon this, the Carduchians left their houses, and, with their wives and children, fled to the hills, where they had an opportunity of supplying themselves with provisions in abundance. The houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass utensils, which the Greeks forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the inhabitants, in hope, by sparing them, to prevail upon the Carduchians, since they were enemies to the king, to conduct them through their country in a friendly manner: but they took all the provisions they met with, for they were compelled to it by necessity. However, the Carduchians paid no regard to their invitations, nor shewed any other symptoms of a friendly disposition;

and when the rear of the Greek army was descending from the top of the mountains into the villages, it being now dark (for, as the way was narrow, they spent the whole day in the ascent of the mountains, and the descent from thence into the villages) some of the Carduchians, gathering together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They were but few in number, for the Greek army came upon them unawares. Had the enemy been more numerous at that time, great part of the army had been in danger. In this manner they passed the night in the villages: the Carduchians made fires all round them upon the mountains, and both had their eyes upon one another.

As soon as it was day, the generals and the captains of the Greeks assembled, and resolved to reserve only those sumpter horses upon their march that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the slaves they had newly taken: for the great number of sumpter horses and slaves retarded their march; and many of their men, by having charge of these, were unfit for action. Besides, there being so many mouths, they were under a necessity of providing and carrying double the quantity of provisions. This being resolved, they gave orders to have it put in execution.

While, therefore, they were upon their march after dinner, the generals placed themselves in a narrow pass, and whatever they found reserved by the soldiers, contrary to order, they took it away; and the men submitted, unless any of them hap-

pened privately to have retained some boy, or beautiful woman he was fond of. In this manner they marched that day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The next day there was a great storm: however they were obliged to go on; for their provisions failed them. Cheirisophus led the van, and Xenophon brought up the rear. Here the ways being narrow, the enemy made a brisk attack upon them, and coming up close, discharged their arrows, and made use of their slings: so that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, were obliged to march slowly; and Xenophon often ordered the army to halt when the enemy pressed hard upon them. Upon one of these orders, Cheirisophus, who used to stand still on the like occasions, did not stop, but marched faster than usual, and ordered the men to follow. By this it appeared there was something extraordinary, but they were not at leisure to send to him to inquire the cause of this haste; so that the march of those in the rear had the resemblance more of a flight than a retreat. Here fell a brave man, Cleonymus, a Lacedæmonian, who was wounded in the side by an arrow, that made its way both through his shield and his buff coat. Here also fell Basias, an Arcadian, whose head was pierced quite through with an arrow. When they were arrived at the place where they designed to encamp, Xenophon immediately went as he was to Cheirisophus, and blamed him for not stopping, but obliging the rear to fly and fight at the same time. "Here we have lost two brave and worthy men," says he, "without being able either to bring

them off, or to bury them." To this Cheirisophus answered, "Cast your eyes upon those mountains, and observe how unpassable they all are. You see there is but one road, and that a steep one. It is, you may observe, possessed too by a great multitude of men who stand ready to defend it. For this reason I marched hastily, without staying for you, that, if possible, I might prevent the enemy, and make myself master of the pass; for our guides assure us there is no other road." Xenophon replied, "I have two prisoners; for when the enemy molested us in our march, we placed some men in ambush, which gave us time to breathe, and having killed some of them, we were also desirous of taking some alive, with this view, that we might have guides who were acquainted with the country."

The prisoners, therefore, being brought before them, they ³questioned them separately, whether they knew of any other road than that which lay before them. One of them said he knew no other, though he was threatened with divers kinds of torture. As he said nothing to the purpose, he was put to death in the presence of the other. The survivor said, this man pretended he did not know the other road, because he had a daughter married to a man who lived there; but that he himself would undertake to conduct us through a road that was passable even for the sumpter horses. Being asked whether there was any difficult pass in that road, he said there was a summit, which, if not secured in time, would render the passage impracticable. Upon this it was thought proper

to assemble the captains, the targeteers, and some of the heavy-armed men; and having informed them how matters stood, to ask them whether any of them would shew their gallantry, and voluntarily undertake this service. Two of the heavy-armed men offered themselves: Aristonymus of Methydria, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians. But Callimachus of Parrhasie, an Arcadian, and Agasias, had a contest who should undertake it. The latter said, that he would go, and take with him volunteers out of the whole army. "For I am well assured," says he, "if I have the command, many of the youth will follow me." After that they asked if any of the light-armed men, or of their officers, would also be of the party. Upon which Aristreas, of Chios, presented himself. He had, upon many occasions of this nature, done great service to the army.

The day was now far advanced; so the generals ordered these to eat something, and set out, and delivered the guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themselves masters of the summit, they should make it good that night, and as soon as it was day, give them notice of it by sounding a trumpet; and that those above should charge that body of the enemy that was posted in the passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their assistance with all the expedition they were able. When things were thus ordered, they set forward, being about two thousand in number. And notwithstanding it rained most violently, Xenophon marched at the head of the rear guard towards the passage before them, in order to draw the atten-

tion of the enemy that way, and conceal as much as possible the march of the detachment. When Xenophon, with the rear guard, came to ⁵a valley which they were to pass, in order to climb the ascent, the Barbarians rolled down ⁶vast round stones, each a ton in weight, with others both larger and smaller. These being dashed against the rocks in their fall, the splinters ⁷were hurled every way, which made it absolutely impossible to approach the road. Some of the captains despairing to gain this passage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themselves in this manner till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their supper, for the rear guard had not dined that day. However, the enemy continued to roll down stones all night, as was perceived by the noise they made in their fall. In the mean time, those who marched round with the guide surprised the enemy's guard as they were sitting round a fire; and having killed some of them, and forced others down the precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves masters of the summit. But in this they were mistaken, for there was still an eminence above them, near which lay the narrow way where the guard sate. There was indeed a passage from the post they had taken, to that the enemy were possessed of, in the open road. Here they remained that night.

As soon as it was day they put themselves in order, and marched in silence against the enemy; and, there being a mist, came close to them before they were perceived. When they saw one another,

the trumpet sounded, and the Greeks, shouting, made their attack. However, the Barbarians did not stand to receive them, but quitted the road, very few of them being killed in the flight, for they were prepared for expedition. Cheirisophus and his men hearing the trumpet, immediately marched up the pass which lay before them. The rest of the generals took bye-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and climbing as well as they could, ⁸drew up one another with their pikes; and these were the first who joined the detachment that had gained the post. Xenophon, with one half of the rear guard, marched up the same way those went who had the guide, this road being the most convenient for the sumpter horses; the other half he ordered to come up behind the baggage. In their march they came to a hill that commanded the road, and was possessed by the enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the Greeks. The men, indeed, might have gone the same way the rest took, but the sumpter horses could go no other. Encouraging, therefore, one another, they made their attack upon the hill ⁹in columns, not surrounding it, but leaving the enemy room to run away if they were so disposed. Accordingly, the Barbarians seeing our men marching up the hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their arrows or their darts upon those who approached the road, fled, and quitted the place. The Greeks having marched by this hill, saw another before them also possessed by the enemy. This they resolved to attack likewise; but Xenophon, considering that if he left the hill they

had already taken without a guard, the enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter horses as they passed by them; (for the way being narrow, there was a long file of them); he, therefore, left upon this hill, Cephisodorus the son of Cephisiphon, an Athenian, and Archagoras, a banished Argive, both captains; while he with the rest marched to the second hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remained a third, by much the steepest. This was the eminence that commanded the post where the guard was surprised at the fire, the night before, by the detachment. When the Greeks approached the hill, the Barbarians quitted it without striking a stroke: so that every body was surprised, and suspected they left the place fearing to be surrounded and besieged in it. But the truth was, that seeing from the eminence what passed behind, they all made haste away with a design to fall upon the rear.

Xenophon, with the youngest of his men, ascended to the top of this hill, and ordered the rest to march slowly after, that the two captains, who were left behind, might join them: and that when they were all together, they should choose some even place in the road, and there stand to their arms. He had no sooner given his orders than Archagoras, the Argive, came flying from the enemy, and brought an account, that they were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the rock and joined the rear, were slain. The Barbarians, after this advantage, came to the hill opposite to that where Xenophon stood; and

Xenophon treated with them, by an interpreter, concerning a truce, and demanded the dead. They consented to deliver them, provided he agreed not to burn their villages. Xenophon came into this. While the other part of the army approached, and these were employed in treating, all the men moved from the post they were in towards the same place. Upon this the enemy made a stand, and, when the Greeks began to descend from the top of the hill to join those who were drawn up in order of battle, they advanced in great numbers, and with tumult; and, after they had gained the top of the hill, which Xenophon had quitted, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one of our men. Here Xenophon's armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his shield: but Eurylochus of Lusia, an Arcadian, and one of the heavy-armed men, ran to his relief, and covered both himself and Xenophon with his shield, while the rest joined those who stood ready drawn up.

And now the Greeks were all together, and quartered there, in many fine houses, where they found provisions in abundance: for there was so great a plenty of wine, that they kept it in plastered cisterns. Here Xenophon and Cheirisophus prevailed upon the Barbarians to deliver up their dead in exchange for the guide: these, as far as they were able, they buried with all the honours that are due to the memory of brave men. The next day they marched without a guide, and the enemy, both by fighting with them, and seizing all the passes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever, therefore, they opposed the

vanguard, Xenophon, ascending the mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain some post that commanded the enemy, and by this means opened a passage for those who were in the van; and, when they attacked the rear, Cheirisophus ascended the hills, and endeavouring also to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction they gave to the march of the rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes also the Barbarians, after the Greeks had ascended the eminences, gave them great disturbance in their descent, for they were very nimble, and though they came near to our men, yet still they got off, having no other arms but bows and slings. They were very skilful archers; their bows were near three cubits in length, and their arrows above two. When they discharged their arrows, ¹⁰they drew the string by pressing upon the lower part of the bow with their left foot. ¹¹These arrows pierced through the shields and corslets of our men, who, taking them up, made use of them instead of darts, by fixing thongs to them. In these places the Cretans were of great service. They were commanded by Stratocles, a Cretan.

This day they staid in the villages situate above the plain that extends to the river Centrites, which is two hundred feet broad, and the boundary between Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. Here the Greeks rested themselves. This river is about six or seven stadia from the Carduchian mountains. Here therefore they staid with great satisfaction, having plenty of provisions, and often calling to mind the difficulties they had undergone;

for, during the seven days they had marched through the country of the Carduchians, they were continually fighting, and suffered more than from all the attempts of the king and Tissaphernes. Looking upon themselves, therefore, as freed from these hardships, they rested with pleasure. But, as soon as it was day, they saw a body of horse, on the other side of the river, completely armed, and ready to oppose their passage ; and, above the horse, another of foot drawn up upon an eminence, to hinder them from penetrating into Armenia. These were Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldeans, all mercenary troops, belonging to Orontas and Artuchus. The Chaldeans were said to be a free people, and warlike ; their arms were long shields and spears. The eminence upon which they were drawn up, was about three or four hundred feet from the river. The only road the Greeks could discover, led upwards, and seemed to have been made by art. Over against this road the Greeks endeavoured to pass the river, but, upon trial, they found the water came up above their breasts ; that the river was rendered uneven by large slippery stones ; and that it was not possible for them to hold their arms in the water, which if they attempted, they were borne away by the stream, and, if they carried them upon their heads, they were exposed to the arrows, and the other missive weapons of the enemy. They retired, therefore, and encamped on the banks of the river.

From hence they discovered a great number of armed Carduchians, who were got together upon the mountain, in the very place where they had

encamped the night before. Here the Greeks were very much disheartened, seeing on one side of them a river hardly passable, and the banks of it covered with troops to obstruct their passage, and, on the other, the Carduchians ready to fall upon their rear, if they attempted it. This day, therefore, and the following night, they remained in the same place under great perplexity. Here Xenophon had a dream : he thought he was in chains, and that his chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at liberty, and went whithersoever he pleased. As soon as the first dawn of day appeared, he went to Cheirisophus, and told him he was in hopes every thing would be well, and acquainted him with his dream. Cheirisophus was pleased to hear it : and while the morn advanced, all the generals, who were present, offered sacrifice, and the very first victims were favourable. As soon, therefore, as the sacrifice was over, the generals and captains, departing, ordered the soldiers to ¹²get their breakfast. While Xenophon was at breakfast, two young men came to him, for it was well known that all persons might have free access to him at his meals ; and, that, were he even asleep, they might wake him, if they had any thing to communicate concerning the operations of the war. These youths informed him, that while they were getting brush-wood for the fire, they saw on the other side of the river, among the rocks that reached down to it, an old man, and a woman with some maid-servants, hiding something, that looked like bags full of clothes, in the hollow of a rock. That, seeing this, they thought they might securely

pass the river, because the place was inaccessible to the enemy's horse. So they undressed themselves, and, taking their naked daggers in their hands, proposed to swim over; but the river being fordable, they found themselves on the other side before the water came up to their middle, and having taken the clothes, repassed it.

Xenophon, hearing this, made a libation himself, and ordered wine to be given to the youths to do the same, and that they should address their prayers to the gods, who had sent the dream, and discovered the passage to complete their happiness. After the libation, he immediately carried the two youths to Cheirisophus, to whom they gave the same account. Cheirisophus, hearing this, made libations also. After that, they gave orders to the soldiers to get their baggage ready. Then, assembling the generals, they consulted with them in what manner they should pass the river with most advantage, and both overcome those who opposed them in front, and secure themselves against the others, who threatened their rear. And it was resolved that Cheirisophus should lead the van, and pass over with one half of the army, while the other staid with Xenophon; and that the sumpter horses, with all those that attended the army, should pass in the middle. After this disposition was made, they began their march. The two youths led the way, keeping the river on their left. They had about four stadia to go before they came to the ford.

As they marched on one side of the river, several bodies of horse advanced on the other

opposite to them. When they came to the ford, and to the bank of the river, the men stood to their arms, and first Cheirisophus, with a garland upon his head, pulled off his clothes, and, taking his arms, commanded all the rest to do the same: he then ordered the captains to draw up their companies in ¹³ columns, and march some on his left hand, and some on his right. In the mean time the priests offered sacrifice, and poured the blood of the victims into the river; and the enemy, from their bows and slings, discharged a volley of arrows and stones, but none of them reached our men. After the victims appeared favourable, all the soldiers sung the pæan, and ¹⁴ shouted; and all the women answered them; for the men had many mistresses in the army.

Immediately Cheirisophus, with his men, went into the river; and Xenophon, taking those of the rear guard, who were most prepared for expedition, marched back in all haste to the passage opposite to the road that led to the Armenian mountains, making a feint as if his design was to pass the river in that place, and intercept the horse that were marching along the bank of it. The enemy, seeing Cheirisophus with his men passing the river with great ease, and Xenophon, with his forces, marching back in all haste, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to the road, that led from the river up into the country. Having gained that road, they continued their march up the mountain. As soon as Lycius, who had the command of the horse, and Æschines, who commanded the targeteers belonging to Cheirisophus, saw the

enemy flying with so much haste, they pursued them, the rest of the soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but would march up the mountain in a body. When Cheirisophus had passed the river with his forces, he did not pursue the horse, but marched along the bank against the other body of the enemy that was posted upon the upper ground. These, finding themselves abandoned by their horse, and seeing our heavy-armed men coming up to attack them, quitted the eminence that commanded the river.

Xenophon therefore perceiving every thing went well on the other side, returned in all haste to the army that was passing over; for by this time the Carduchians were seen descending into the plain, as if they designed to fall upon the rear. Cheirisophus had now possessed himself of the eminence, and Lycius, while he was pursuing the enemy, with a few of his men, took part of their baggage that was left behind, and in it, rich apparel, and drinking cups. The baggage of the Greeks, with those who had charge of it, was yet passing; when Xenophon, facing about,¹⁵ drew up his men against the Carduchians. He ordered all the captains to divide their several¹⁶ companies into¹⁷ two distinct bodies of twenty-five men each, and to extend their¹⁸ front to the¹⁹ left, and that the captains with the leaders of these distinct bodies should march against the Carduchians, while the²⁰ hindmost men of every file posted themselves upon the bank of the river.

Now the Carduchians, when they saw the rear

reduced to a few by the departure of those who had the charge of the baggage, advanced the faster, singing as they came on. Upon this, Cheirisophus, seeing all on his side was secure, sent the targeteers, the slingers, and archers to Xenophon, with directions to do whatever he commanded; but he, as soon as he saw them coming down the hill, sent a messenger to them with orders to halt, as soon as they came to the river; and that, when they saw him begin to pass it with his men, they should come forward in the water on each side opposite to him, ²¹the darters with their fingers in the ²²slings of their darts, and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the river. At the same time he ordered his own men, when they came near enough to the enemy to reach them with their slings, and the heavy-armed men ²³struck their shields with their pikes, to ²⁴sing the pæan, and rush at once upon the enemy: and, when they were put to flight, and the trumpet from the river ²⁵sounded a charge, to face about to the right, ²⁶and that the hindmost men of every file should lead the way, and all make what haste they could to the river, which they were to pass in their ranks, that they might not hinder one another; telling them that he should look upon him as the bravest man, who first reached the opposite side.

The Carduchians, seeing those who remained but few in number (for many even of those who had orders to stay, were gone, some to take care of the sumpter horses, some of their baggage, and others of ²⁷other things), came up boldly towards

them, and began to use their slings and bows. But, when the Greeks, singing the pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them, (for though they were well enough armed for a sudden onset and retreat upon the mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all so to fight hand to hand.) In the mean time the trumpet sounded, upon which the enemy fled much faster than before; and the Greeks, facing about, passed the river in all haste. Some of the enemy seeing this, ran back to the river, and wounded a few of our men with their arrows; but many of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, were observed to continue their flight. In the mean time those who had met them in the river, carried on by their courage, advanced unseasonably, and repassed it after Xenophon and his men were on the other side; by this means some of them also were wounded.

The army, having passed the river about noon, drew up in their ranks, and, in this manner, marched at once over the plain of Armenia, intermixed with hills of an easy ascent, making no less than five parasangas: for there were no villages near the river, by reason of the continual wars with the Carduchians. However at last they came to a large village, that had a palace in it belonging to the ²⁸satrape, and upon most of the houses there were turrets: here they found provisions in abundance. From this place they made, in two days' march, ten parasangas, till they were advanced above the head of the Tigris. From thence they made fifteen parasangas in three days' march, and came to the river Teleboas. The ²⁹river, though

not large, was beautiful, and had many fine villages on its banks: this country was called the western part of Armenia. The governor of it was Teribazus, who had behaved himself with great fidelity to the king, and, when he was present, no other³⁰ lifted the king on horseback. This person rode up towards the Greeks with a body of horse, and, sending his interpreter, acquainted them that he desired to speak with their commanders. Upon this the generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and, advancing within hearing, asked him what he wanted. He answered, that he was willing to enter into a league with them upon these terms: that he should not do any injury to the Greeks, or they burn the houses, but have liberty to take what provisions they wanted. The generals agreed to this: so they concluded a league upon these conditions.

From thence they advanced through a plain, and in three days' march made fifteen parasangas, Teribazus following them with his forces at the distance of about ten stadia, when they came to a palace, surrounded with many villages, abounding in all sorts of provisions. While they lay encamped in this place, there fell so great a³¹ snow in the night, that it was resolved the next morning the soldiers, with their generals, should remove into the villages, and quarter there, for no enemy appeared; and the great quantity of snow seemed a security to them. Here they found all sorts of good provisions, such as cattle, corn, old wines exceeding fragrant, raisins, and legumens of all kinds. In the mean time, some of the men who

had straggled from the camp, brought word that they had seen an army, and that in the night many fires appeared. For this reason the generals thought it not safe for the troops to quarter in the villages at a distance from one another; so resolved to bring the army together. Upon this they re-assembled, and it was determined to encamp abroad. While they passed the night in this camp, there fell so great a quantity of snow, that it covered both the arms and the men as they lay upon the ground; the sumpter horses also were so benumbed with the snow, that it was with difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable sight to see the men lie upon the ground still covered with snow. But when Xenophon was so hardy as to rise naked, and rive wood, immediately another got up, and taking the wood from him, cleft it himself. Upon this they all rose up, and, making fires, anointed themselves; for they found there many sorts of ointments, which served them instead of oil, as hog's-grease, oil of sesame, of bitter almonds, and of turpentine. There was also found a precious ointment made of all these.

After this they determined to disperse themselves again in the villages, and quarter under cover. Upon which the soldiers ran with great shouts and pleasure to the houses and provisions: but those who had set fire to the houses, when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping abroad, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. From hence they sent that night a detachment to the mountains, where the stragglers said they had seen the fires, under the command of Democrates of

Temenus, because he was ever thought to give a true account of things of this nature, reporting matters as they really were. At his return he said he had seen no fires, but, having taken a prisoner, he brought him with him. This man had a ³² Persian bow and quiver, and ³³ an Amazonian battle-ax; and, being asked of what country he was, he said he was a Persian, and that he went from the army of Teribazus to get provisions. Upon this they asked him of what numbers that army consisted, and with what intention it was assembled. He answered, that Teribazus, besides his own army, had mercenary troops of Chalybians and Taochians; and that his design was to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, as they marched through the defile, which was their only road.

The generals hearing this, resolved to assemble the army, and, leaving a guard in the camp under the command of Sophænetus of Stymphalus, they immediately set forward, taking the prisoner with them for their guide. After they had passed the mountains, the targeteers, who marched before the rest, as soon as they discovered the enemy's camp, ran to it with shouts, without staying for the heavy-armed men. The Barbarians, hearing the tumult, did not stand their ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about twenty horses taken, as was also the tent of Teribazus, in which they found beds with silver feet, and drinking cups, with some prisoners, who said they were his bakers and cup-bearers. When the commanders of the heavy-armed men were informed of all that passed,

they determined to return in all haste to their own camp, lest any attempt should be made upon those they had left there; and immediately ordering a retreat to be sounded, they returned, and arrived there the same day.

The next day they resolved to march away with all the haste they could, before the enemy should rally their forces, and possess themselves of the pass. Their baggage therefore being presently ready, they set forward through a deep snow with many guides; and having the same day passed the eminence upon which Teribazus designed to attack them, they encamped. From thence they made three marches through a desert, and came to the Euphrates, which they passed, the water coming up to their navel. It was said the sources of this river were not far off. From thence they made, in three days' march, fifteen parasangas, over a plain covered with a deep snow. The last day's march was very grievous, for the North wind, blowing full in their faces, quite parched and benumbed the men. Upon this one of the priests advised to sacrifice to the wind, which was complied with, and the vehemence of it visibly abated. The snow was a fathom in depth, insomuch that many of the slaves and sumpter horses died, and about thirty soldiers. They made fires all night, for they found plenty of wood in the place where they encamped; and those who came late having no wood, the others who were before arrived, and had made fires, would not allow them to warm themselves till they had given them a share of the wheat, or of the other provisions they had brought with them. By

this exchange they relieved one another's wants. In the places where the fires were made, the snow being melted, there were large pits which reached down to the ground; this afforded an opportunity of measuring the depth of the snow.

From thence they marched all the next day through the snow, when many of the men contracted the ³⁴ bulimy. Xenophon, who commanded the rear, seeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what their distemper was: but, being informed by those who were acquainted with it, that it was plainly the bulimy, and that, if they ate any thing, they would rise again, he went to the baggage, and, whatever refreshments he found there, he gave some to those who were afflicted with this distemper, and sent persons able to go about, to divide the rest among others, who were in the same condition: and, as soon as they had eaten something, they rose up, and continued their march. During which, Cheirisophus came to a village, just as it was dark, and, at a fountain, without the walls, he found some women and girls, who belonged to it, carrying water. These inquired who they were? The interpreter answered, in Persian, that they were going to the satrape from the king. The women replied, that he was not there, but at a place distant about a parasanga from thence. As it was late, they entered the walls together with the women, and went to the bailiff of the town. Here Cheirisophus encamped with all that could come up. The rest, who were unable to continue their march, passed the night without victuals or fire, by which means some of them perished: and a party of the

enemy following our march, took some of the sumpter horses that could not keep pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the men also, who had lost their sight by the snow, or whose toes were rotted off by the intenseness of the cold, were left behind. The eyes were relieved against the snow by wearing something black before them, and the feet against the cold, by continual motion, and by pulling off their shoes in the night. If any slept with their shoes on, the lachets pierced their flesh, and their shoes stuck to their feet; for, when their old shoes were worn out, they wore ³⁵ carbatines made of raw hides. These grievances therefore occasioned some of the soldiers to be left behind; who, seeing a piece of ground that appeared black, because there was no snow upon it, concluded it was melted; and melted it was by a vapour that was continually exhaling from a fountain in a valley near the place. Thither they betook themselves, and, sitting down, refused to march any further. Xenophon, who had charge of the rear, as soon as he was informed of this, tried all means to prevail upon them not to be left behind, telling them that the enemy were got together in great numbers, and followed them close. At last he grew angry. They bid him kill them, if he would, for they were not able to go on. Upon this, he thought the best thing he could do, was, if possible, to strike a terror into the enemy that followed, lest they should fall upon the men who were tired. It was now dark, and the enemy came on with great tumult, quarrelling with one another about their booty. Upon this, such of

the rear-guard as were well, rising up, rushed upon them; while those who were tired, shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their shields with their pikes. The enemy, alarmed at this, threw themselves into the valley through the snow, and were no more heard of.

Then Xenophon, with the rest of the forces, went away, assuring the sick men, that, the next day, some people should be sent to them; but before they had gone four stadia, they found others taking their rest in the snow, and covered with it, no guard being appointed. These they obliged to rise, who acquainted him, that those at the head of the army did not move forward. Xenophon, hearing this, went on, and sending the ablest of the targeteers before, ordered them to see what was the occasion of the stop. They brought word that the whole army took their rest in that manner. So that Xenophon and his men, after they had appointed such guards as they were able, passed the night there also without either fire or victuals. When it was near day, he sent the youngest of his men to oblige the sick to get up and come away. In the mean time Cheirisophus sent some from the village to inquire in what condition the rear was. These were rejoiced to see them, and having delivered their sick to them to be conducted to the camp, they marched forward; and before they had gone twenty stadia, they found themselves in the village where Cheirisophus was quartered. When they came together, they were of opinion that the army might quarter in the villages with safety. So Cheirisophus staid in the place he was in, and the

rest went to the several villages that were allotted to them.

Here Polycrates, an Athenian, one of the captains, desired he might have leave to absent himself; and, taking with him those who were most prepared for expedition, he made such haste to the village that had fallen to Xenophon's lot, that he surprised all the inhabitants together, with their bailiff, in their houses. He found here seventeen colts, that were bred as a tribute for the king; and also the bailiff's daughter, who had not been married above nine days. However, her husband, being gone to hunt the hare, was not taken in any of the villages. Their houses were under ground; the mouth resembling that of a well, but spacious below; there was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young. All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder. There was also wheat, barley, and legumens, and ³⁶beer in jars, in which the malt itself floated even with the brims of the vessels, and with it reeds, some large, and others small, without joints. These, when any one was dry, he was to take into his mouth and suck. The liquor was very strong, when unmixed with water, and exceeding pleasant to those who were used to it.

Xenophon invited the bailiff of this village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this assurance, that his children should not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his house full of provisions in return for those they took, provided he performed some signal service to

the army, by conducting them, till they came to another nation. The bailiff promised to perform this, and, as an instance of his good-will, informed them where there was wine buried. The soldiers rested that night in their several quarters in the midst of plenty, keeping a guard upon the bailiff, and having an eye at the same time upon his children. The next day Xenophon, taking the bailiff along with him, went to Cheirisophus, and, in every village through which he passed, made a visit to those who were quartered there; and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to dinner with them; and he every where found the tables covered with lamb, kid, pork, veal, and fowls; with plenty of bread, some made of wheat, and some of barley. When any one had a mind to drink to his friend, he took him to the jar, where he was obliged to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an ox. The soldiers gave the bailiff leave to take whatever he desired; but he took nothing; only, wherever he met with any of his relations, he carried them along with him.

When they came to Cheirisophus, they found them also ³⁷ feasting, and crowned with garlands made of hay, and Armenian boys, in Barbarian dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as Cheirisophus and Xenophon had embraced one another, they asked the bailiff, by their interpreter, who spoke the Persian language, what country it was. He answered, Armenia. After that, they asked

him for whom the horses were bred. He said for the king, as a tribute. He added, that the neighbouring country was inhabited by the Chalybians, and informed them of the road that led to it. After that Xenophon went away, carrying back the bailiff to his family, and gave him the horse he had taken some time before, which was an old one, with a charge that he should recover him for a sacrifice (for he had heard he was consecrated to the sun), being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the journey, he should die. At the same time he took one of the young horses for himself, and gave one of them to each of the generals and captains. The horses of this country are less than those of Persia, but have a great deal more spirit. Upon this occasion the bailiff taught us to tie bags to the feet of the horses and beasts of burden, when they travelled through the snow, for, without them, they sunk up to their bellies.

After they had staid here eight days, Xenophon delivered the bailiff to Cheirisophus, to serve him as a guide, and left him all his family, except his son, a youth just in the flower of his age. This youth he committed to the charge of Episthenis of Amphipolis, with a design to send him back with his father, if he conducted them in a proper manner. At the same time they carried as many things as they could into his house, and, decamping, marched away. The bailiff conducted them through the snow unbound. They had now marched three days, when Cheirisophus grew angry with him for not carrying them to some villages. The bailiff said there were none in that part of the country. Upon

this Cheirisophus struck him, but did not order him to be bound: so that he made his escape in the night, leaving his son behind him. This ill treatment and neglect of the bailiff was the cause of the only difference that happened between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during their whole march. Episthenis took an affection to the youth, and, carrying him into Greece, found great fidelity in him.

After this they made seven marches, at the rate of five parasangas each day, and arrived at the river ³⁸Phasis, which is about one hundred feet in breadth. From thence they made, in two marches, ten parasangas; when they found the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians posted upon the passage that led over the mountains to the plain. As soon as Cheirisophus saw the enemy in possession of that post, he halted at the distance of about thirty stadia, that he might not approach them while the army marched in a column; for which reason he ³⁹ordered the captains to bring up their companies to the front, that the army might be drawn up in a line.

When the rear-guard came up, he called the generals and captains together, and spoke to them in this manner. "The enemy, you see, are masters of the pass over the mountain. We are therefore now to consider in what manner we may charge them with the greatest advantage. It is my opinion, that while the soldiers get their dinner, we should consult among ourselves, whether it will be most proper to attempt the passage to-day, or stay till to-morrow." "My advice is," says Cleanor, "that

as soon as we have dined, we should take our arms, and attack the enemy; for, if we defer it till to-morrow, this delay will inspire those who observe us with confidence, and their confidence will, in all probability, draw others to their assistance."

After him Xenophon said, "This is my sense of the matter. If we are obliged to fight, we ought to prepare ourselves to fight with all possible bravery; but if we propose to pass the mountain in the easiest manner, we are to consider by what means we may receive the fewest wounds, and lose the fewest men. The mountain that lies before us reaches above sixty stadia in length, and, in all this extent, no guard appears to be posted any where, but only in this part. For which reason I should think it more for our advantage to endeavour to surprise some unguarded place upon the mountain, and, if possible, prevent their seizing it, than to attack a post already fortified, and men prepared to resist; for it is easier to climb a steep ascent, without fighting, than to march upon plain ground, when the enemy are posted on both sides of us. We can also better see what lies before us in the night, when we are not obliged to fight, than in the day-time, when we are; and the roughest way is easier to those who march without fighting, than an even way to those whose heads are exposed to the darts of an enemy. Neither do I think it impossible for us to steal such a march, since we may have the advantage of the night to conceal us, and may take so great a circuit as not to be discovered. I am also of opinion, that, if we make a false attack upon the post which is possessed by the enemy, we shall, by

that means, find the rest of the mountain more unguarded; for this will oblige them to keep all their forces in a body. But why do I mention stealing? ⁴⁰ Since I am informed, O Cheirisophus! that among you Lacedæmonians, those of the first rank practise it from their childhood, and that, instead of being a dishonour, it is your duty to steal those things which the law has not forbidden: and to the end you may learn to steal with the greatest dexterity and secrecy imaginable, your laws have provided that those who are taken in a theft shall be whipped. This is the time, therefore, for you to shew how far your education has improved you, and take care that, in stealing this march, we are not discovered, lest we smart severely for it."

Cheirisophus answered, "I am also informed, that you Athenians are very expert in stealing the public money, notwithstanding the great danger you are exposed to; and that your best men are the most expert at it, that is, if you choose your best men for your magistrates. So that this is a proper time for you also to shew the effects of your education." "I am ready," replies Xenophon, "to march with the rear-guard, as soon as we have supped, in order to possess myself of the mountain. I have guides with me: for our light-armed men have, in an ambuscade, taken some of the marauders, that follow the army. By these I am informed that the mountain is not inaccessible, but that goats and oxen graze upon it: so that, if we are once masters of any part of it, it will be accessible also to our sumpter horses. Neither do I believe the enemy will keep their post, when they see we are masters of the summit, and upon an

equality with themselves; because they are now unwilling to come down to us upon equal ground." But Cheirisophus said, "Why should you go, and leave the charge of the rear? Rather send others, unless any offer themselves to this service." Upon this Aristonymus of Methydria presented himself with his heavy-armed men; and Aristeus of Chius, and Nicomachus of Oete, both with their light-armed. And it was agreed that, when they had possessed themselves of the summit, they should light several fires. When these things were settled, they went to dinner, after which Cheirisophus led the whole army within ten stadia of the enemy, as if he had absolutely resolved to march that way.

Supper being ended, and night coming on, those who had orders marched away, and made themselves masters of the top of the mountain. The others went to rest where they were. The enemy, finding our men were possessed of that post, remained under arms, and made many fires all night. As soon as it was day, Cheirisophus, after he had offered sacrifice, led his forces up the road, while those who had gained the summit attacked the enemy; great part of whom staid to defend the pass, and the rest advanced against those who were masters of the eminence. But before Cheirisophus could come up to the enemy, those upon the summit were engaged; where our men had the advantage, and drove the enemy before them. In the mean time, the Greek targeteers ran on from the plain to attack those who were ready drawn up to receive them, and Cheirisophus, at the head of the heavy-armed men, followed as fast as was consistent with a regular march. How-

ever, the enemy that were posted in the pass, when they saw those above give way, fled also; when great numbers of them were slain, and many of their bucklers taken, which the Greeks, by cutting them to pieces, rendered useless. As soon as they had gained the ascent, they offered sacrifice, and having erected a trophy, marched down into the plain, where they found villages well stored with all sorts of provisions.

From hence they came to the country of the Taochians, making, in five marches, thirty parasangas; and here their provisions began to fail them; for the Taochians inhabited fastnesses, into which they had conveyed all their provisions. At last the army arrived at a strong place, which had neither city nor houses upon it, but where great numbers of men and women, with their cattle, were assembled. This place Cheirisophus ordered to be attacked the moment he came before it; and when the first company suffered, another went up, and then another; for the place being surrounded with precipices, they could not attack it on all sides at once. When Xenophon came up with the rear-guard, the targeteers, and heavy-armed men, Cheirisophus said to him, "You come very seasonably, for this place must be taken, otherwise the army will be starved."

Upon this they called a council of war; and Xenophon demanding what could hinder them from carrying the place, Cheirisophus answered, "There is no other access to it but this, and when any of our men attempt to gain it, they roll down stones from the impending rock, and those they light upon

are treated as you see;" pointing, at the same time, to some of the men whose legs and ribs were broken. "But," says Xenophon, "when they have consumed all the stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? for I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few men, and of these not above two or three that are armed. The space, you see, through which we must pass, exposed to these stones, is about one hundred and fifty feet in length, of which that of one hundred feet is covered ⁴with large pines, growing in groups, against which if our men place themselves, what can they suffer either from the stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the enemy? The remaining part of this space is not above fifty feet, which, when the stones cease, we must dispatch with all possible expedition." "But," says Cheirisophus, "the moment we offer to go to the place that is covered with the trees, they will shower down stones upon us." "That," replies Xenophon, "is the very thing we want, for by this means they will be consumed the sooner. However," continues he, "let us, if we can, advance to that place, from whence we may have but a little way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with ease."

Upon this, Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus, of Parrhasie, one of the captains, advanced (for the last had the command that day of the captains in the rear); all the rest of the officers standing out of danger. Then about seventy of the men advanced under the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as well as he could; while Agasias, the Stymphalian, and Ari-

tonymus of Methydria, who were also captains belonging to the rear, with some others, stood behind, without the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to be there. Upon this occasion, Callimachus made use of the following stratagem. He advanced two or three paces from the tree under which he stood; but as soon as the stones began to fly, he quickly retired, and upon every excursion, more than ten cart-loads of stones were consumed. When Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, and that the eyes of the whole army were upon him, fearing lest he should be the first man who entered the place, he, without giving any notice to Aristonymus, who stood next to him, or to Eurylochus of Lusian, both of whom were his friends, or to any other person, advanced alone, with a design to get before the rest. When Callimachus saw him passing by, he laid hold on the ⁴²border of his shield. In the mean time, Aristonymus, and, after him, Eurylochus, ran by them both: for all these were rivals in glory, and in a constant emulation of each other. And by contending thus, they took the place; for the moment one of them had gained the ascent, there were no more stones thrown from above.

And here followed a dreadful spectacle indeed; for the women first threw their children down the precipice, and then themselves. The men did the same. And here Æneas the Stymphalian, a captain, seeing one of the Barbarians, who was richly dressed, running with a design to throw himself down, caught hold of him; and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the precipice together, and were

dashed to pieces. Thus we made very few prisoners, but took a considerable quantity of oxen, asses, and sheep.

From thence the Greeks advanced through the country of the ⁴³Chalybians, and, in seven marches, made fifty parasangas. These being the most valiant people they met with in all their march, they came to a close engagement with the Greeks. They had linen corslets that reached below ⁴⁴their navel, and, ⁴⁵instead of tassels, thick cords twisted. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdle ⁴⁶a short falchion, like those of the Lacedæmonians, with which they cut the throats of those they overpowered, and afterwards, cutting off their heads, carried them away in triumph. It was their custom to sing and dance, whenever they thought the enemy saw them. They had pikes fifteen cubits in length, ⁴⁷with only one point. They staid in their cities till the Greeks marched past them, and then followed, harassing them perpetually. After that they retired to their strong holds, into which they had conveyed their provisions: so that the Greeks could supply themselves with nothing out of their country, but lived upon the cattle they had taken from the Tao-chians.

They now came to the river Harpasus, which was four hundred feet broad; and from thence advanced through the country of the Scythinians, and, in four days' march, made twenty parasangas, passing through a plain into some villages; in which they staid three days, and made their provisions. From this place they made, in four days' march, twenty parasangas, to a large and rich city

well inhabited: it was called Gymnias. The governor of this country sent a person to the Greeks, to conduct them through the territories of his enemies. This guide, coming to the army, said he would undertake, ⁴⁸ in five days, to carry them to a place from whence they should see the sea. If not, he consented to be put to death. And when he had conducted them into the territories belonging to his enemies, he desired them to lay waste the country with fire and sword: by which it was evident that he came with this view, and not from any good-will he bore to the Greeks. The fifth day, they arrived at the holy mountain called Theches. As soon as the men who were in the vanguard ascended the mountain, and saw the sea, they gave a great shout; which, when Xenophon and those in the rear heard, they concluded that some other enemies attacked them in front; for the people belonging to the country they had burned, followed their rear, some of whom those who had charge of it had killed, and taken others prisoners in an ambuscade. They had also taken twenty bucklers, made of raw ox-hides with the hair on.

The noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the men, as fast as they came up, running to those who still continued shouting, their cries swelled with their numbers; so that Xenophon, thinking something more than ordinary had happened, mounted on horseback, and, taking with him Lycius and his horse, rode up to their assistance; and presently they heard the soldiers calling out SEA! SEA! and cheering one another. At this they all set a running, the rear-guard as well as the

rest, and the beasts of burden and horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the top of the mountain, they embraced one another, and also their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes; and immediately the men, by whose order it is not known, bringing together a great many stones, made a large mount, upon which they placed a great quantity of shields made of raw ox-hides, staves, and bucklers taken from the enemy. The guide himself cut the bucklers in pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. After this, the Greeks sent back their guide, giving him presents out of the public stock: these were a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ⁴⁹ten daricks. But, above all things, the guide desired the soldiers to give him some of their rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore shewn them a village, where they were to quarter, and the road that led to the Macronians, when the evening came on, he departed, setting out on his return that night. From thence the Greeks, in three days' march, made ten parasangas, through the country of the Macronians. During their first day's march, they came to a river, which divides the territories of the Macronians from those of the Scythinians. The Greeks had on their right an eminence of very difficult access, and on their left another river, into which the river that served for a boundary between the two nations, and which the Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. The banks of this river were covered with trees, which were not large, but grew close to one another. These the Greeks immediately cut down, being in haste to get out of the place.

The Macronians were drawn up on the opposite side, to obstruct their passage. They are armed with bucklers and spears, and wore vests made of hair. They animated one another, and threw stones into the river; but as they did not reach our men, they could do us no damage.

Upon this, one of the targeteers, coming to Xenophon, said he had formerly been a slave at Athens, that he understood the language of these people: "and," says he, "if I am not mistaken, this is my own country, and, if there is no objection, I will speak to the people." Xenophon answered, "there is none; so speak to them," says he, "and first inquire what people they are." He did so, and they answered they were Macronians. "Ask them, therefore," says Xenophon, "why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our enemies?" To which they answered, "Because you invade our country." The generals then ordered him to let them know, it was not with a view of doing them any injury; "but that, having made war against the king, we were returning to Greece, and desirous to arrive at the sea." The Macronians asked, "whether they were willing to give assurance of this." The Greeks answered, that they were willing both to give and take it. Upon this the Macronians gave the Greeks a Barbarian spear, and the Greeks gave them one of theirs; for this, they said, was their method of pledging their faith; and both parties called upon the gods to be witnesses to their treaty.

When this ceremony was over, the Macronians came in a friendly manner among the Greeks, and

assisted them in cutting down the trees, in order to prepare the way for their passage. They also supplied them with a market, in the best manner they were able, and conducted them through their country during three days, till they brought them to the mountains of the ⁵⁰Colchians. One of these was very large, but not inaccessible. And upon this the Colchians stood in order of battle. The Greeks at first drew up their army in a line, with a design to march up the mountain in this disposition; afterwards, the generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what manner they should engage the enemy with most advantage; when Xenophon said it was his opinion they ought to change the disposition, and, dividing the heavy-armed men into companies of a hundred men each, to throw every company into a separate column; "for," says he, "the mountain being in some places inaccessible, and in others of easy ascent, ⁵¹the line will presently be broken, and this will at once dishearten the men: besides, if we advance with many men in file, the enemy's line will out-reach ours, and they may apply that part of it which out-reaches us, to what service they think proper; and if with few, we ought not to wonder, if they break through our line wherever their numbers and weapons unite to make an impression; and if this happen in any part, the whole line must suffer. To avoid, therefore, these inconveniences, I think the several companies, being thus drawn up in separate columns, ought to march at so great a distance from one another, that the last on each side may reach beyond the enemy's wings; by this means,

not only our last companies will out-reach their line, but, as we make our attack in columns, the bravest of our men will charge first; and let every company ascend the mountain in that part where it is of easy access: neither will it be an easy matter for the enemy to fall into the intervals, when the companies are placed on each side, or to break through them, when they advance in columns; and if any of the companies suffer, the next will relieve them, and if any one of them can by any means gain the summit, the enemy will no longer stand their ground." This was resolved on: so they divided the heavy-armed men into companies, and threw every company into a separate column; then Xenophon, going from the right of the army to the left, spoke thus to the soldiers: "Gentlemen! the enemy you see before you, are now the only remaining obstacle that hinders us from being already in the place whither we are, long since, hastening. These, if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

When every man stood in his place, and all the companies were drawn up in columns, they amounted to about eighty companies of heavy-armed, each of which consisted of near a hundred men; the targeteers and archers they divided into three bodies of near six hundred men each, one of which they placed beyond the left wing, another beyond the right, and the third in the centre. Then the generals ordered the soldiers to make their vows to the gods, and after they had made them, and sung the pæan, they marched. Cheirisophus and Xenophon advanced at the head of those targeteers who were beyond the enemy's line; these, seeing them coming

up, moved forward to receive them, and some filed off to the right, and others to the left, leaving a great void in the centre. When the Arcadian targeteers, who were commanded by Æschines, the Acarnanian, saw them divide, they ran forward in all haste, thinking they fled, and these were the first who gained the summit. They were followed by the Arcadian heavy-armed men, commanded by Cleanor, the Orchomenian. The enemy, when once they began to give ground, never stood after, but fled, some one way, and some another. After the Greeks had gained the ascent, they encamped in many villages full of all sorts of provisions. Here they found nothing else worthy of their admiration; but there being great quantities of ⁵²bee-hives in those villages, all the soldiers who ate of the honey-combs lost their senses, and were seized with a vomiting and purging, none of them being able to stand upon their legs. Those who ate but little, ⁵³were like men very drunk, and those who ate much, like mad-men, and some like dying persons. In this condition great numbers lay upon the ground, as if there had been a defeat, and the sorrow was general. The next day, none of them died, but recovered their senses, about the same hour they were seized; and the third and fourth day they got up as if they had taken physic.

From thence they made, in two days' march, seven parasangas, and arrived at the sea, and ⁵⁴at Trebisonde, a Greek city, well inhabited, and situated upon the Euxine Sea; it is a colony of the Sinopians, but lies in the country of the Colchians.

Here they staid about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, and from thence made excursions into their country, and plundered it. The inhabitants of Trebisonde supplied them with a market in their camp, and received the Greeks with great hospitality, making them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine; they also concluded a treaty with them in favour of the neighbouring Colchians, the greatest part of whom inhabit the plain, and from these also the Greeks received more oxen, as a mark of their hospitality. After this, they prepared the sacrifice they had vowed. They had received oxen enough to offer to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, in return for their having conducted them with safety, and also to the other gods what they had vowed. They also celebrated a Gymnic game upon the mountain where they encamped, and chose Dracontius of Sparta (who having involuntarily killed a boy with his falchion, fled from his country, when he was a child) to take care of the course, and preside at the game.

When the sacrifice was over, they delivered the hides of the victims to Dracontius, and desired he would lead them to the place where he had prepared the course. This hill, says he, pointing to the place where they stood, is the properest place for running, let them take which way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven and so bushy a place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater anguish.⁵⁵ The course was run by boys, the greatest part of whom were prisoners, and the long course by above

sixty Cretans : others contended in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. All which made a fine sight : ⁵⁶for many entered the lists, and, as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. Horses also ran ; they were obliged to run down to the sea, and turning there, to come up again to the ⁵⁷altar. In the descent, many rolled down the hill, but, when they came to climb it, the ⁵⁸ascent was so very steep the horses could scarce come in a foot-pace. Upon this the spectators shouted, and laughed, and animated their friends.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK V.

WE have hitherto related the actions of the Greeks in their expedition with Cyrus, and in their march to the Euxine Sea; how they arrived at Trebisonde, a Greek city, and offered the sacrifices they had vowed to the gods, in return for their safety, in the place where they first came into the territories of their friends.

After that they assembled to consider of the remainder of their march, and Antileon of Thuria first rose up, and spoke in the following manner. "For my part, gentlemen! I am already tired with preparing my baggage, with walking and running, carrying my arms, and marching in my rank, and with mounting the guard and fighting; and therefore now desire, since we are arrived at the sea, to ¹sail from hence forward, freed from these labours, and stretched out, ²like Ulysses, sleeping to arrive in Greece." The soldiers, hearing this, applauded him; and first another, and then all present, expressed the same desire. Upon this Cheirisophus rose up and said, "Gentlemen! Anaxibius is my friend, and, at present, admiral;

if, therefore, you think proper to send me to him, I make no doubt of returning with galleys and ships to transport you; and since you are disposed to go by sea, stay here till I return, which shall be very suddenly." The soldiers, hearing this, were very well satisfied, and decreed that he should set sail immediately.

After him, Xenophon got up and spoke to this effect. "Cheirisophus is gone to provide ships for us; in the mean time we propose to stay here. I shall therefore acquaint you with what I think proper for us to do during our stay. In the first place, we must supply ourselves with provisions out of the enemy's country, for the market here is not sufficient to supply us: besides, few of us are furnished with money to provide ourselves with what we want, and the country is inhabited by the enemy. We shall therefore expose ourselves to lose many of our men, if, when we go in search of provisions, we are careless and unguarded: so that I am of opinion, when you go out upon these expeditions, you ought to take ³guides, in order to be safe, and not wander about the country without them, and that the care of providing them be left to us." This being resolved, he went on. "Hear also what I have farther to say. Some of you will, no doubt, desire to go out for plunder. Let all such therefore acquaint us with their intentions, and to what part of the country they propose to go; that we may know the number both of those who go, and of those who stay, and assist the former in any thing they want; and, if it shall be found necessary to send out succours, that we may know whither to

send them ; and that, if any person of less experience undertakes any thing, by endeavouring to know the strength of the enemy, we may be able to advise him." This also was resolved. " In the next place, consider this," says he : " The enemy having leisure to make reprisals, may, with justice, lay snares for us, for we have possessed ourselves of what belongs to them, and they have the advantage of us by being posted upon eminences that command our camp. For which reason I think we ought to place out-guards round the camp ; and if, by turns, we mount the guard, and watch the motions of the enemy, we shall be the less exposed to a surprize. Take this also into your consideration. If we were assured that Cheirisophus would return with a sufficient number of ships to transport us, what I am going to say would be unnecessary : but, as that is uncertain, I think we ought, at the same time, to endeavour to provide ourselves with ships from hence : for, if we are already supplied, when he arrives, we shall have a greater number of ships to transport us ; and, if he brings none, we shall make use of those we have provided. I observe many ships sailing along this coast ; these, if we desire the inhabitants of Trebisonde to supply us with ships of strength, we may bring to the shore, and, taking off their rudders, place a guard upon them, till we have enough to transport us in such a manner as we propose." This also was resolved. " The next thing I would recommend to your consideration," says he, " is, whether it may not be reasonable to subsist those belonging to these ships, as long as they stay in our service, out of the public stock,

and pay them their freight, that they may find their account in serving us." This was also resolved. "I think," added Xenophon, "that, if by this means we should be disappointed of a sufficient number of ships, we ought to order the towns that border on the sea, to repair the roads, which, as we are informed, are hardly passable: for they will obey our orders both through fear and a desire to be rid of us."

Upon this they all cried out, that there was no necessity to repair the roads. Xenophon, therefore, seeing their folly, declined putting ⁴any question relating to that, but prevailed on the towns near the sea to mend their roads, of their own accord; telling them, that, if the roads were good, the Greeks would the sooner leave their country. The inhabitants of Trebisonde let them have a galley with fifty oars, of which they gave the command to ⁵Dexippus, who lived in the neighbourhood of Sparta: but he, neglecting to take any transport ships, went away with the galley, and sailed out of the Euxine Sea. However, he afterwards received condign punishment; for, being in Thrace in the service of Seuthes, and carrying on some intrigues there, he was slain by Nicander, the Lacedæmonian. The inhabitants of Trebisonde also supplied them with a galley of thirty oars, of which Polycrates, an Athenian, had the command, who brought all the transport ships he seized to the shore before the camp, and the Greeks, taking out their cargoes, appointed guards to take charge of them, and retained the ships for their passage. In the mean time the soldiers went out to get plunder, some succeeding, and others

not. But Cleænetus, in attacking a strong place with his own and another company, was slain, together with many others.

When the provisions in the neighbourhood were so far consumed, that the parties could not return the same day, Xenophon, taking some of the inhabitants of Trebisonde for his guides, led out one half of the army against the Drilians, leaving the other to guard the camp; because the Colchians, being driven out of their houses, were got together in great numbers, and encamped upon the eminences. These guides did not lead them to those places where provisions were easy to be had, because the inhabitants were their friends, but conducted them with great cheerfulness into the territories of the Drilians, by whom they had been ill treated. This is a mountainous country and of difficult access, and the people the most warlike of all those who live near the Euxine Sea.

As soon as the Greeks entered their country, the Drilians set fire to all the places they thought easy to be taken, and then went away. So that the Greeks found nothing but swine and oxen, and some other cattle that had escaped the fire. There was one place, called their metropolis, whither they had all betaken themselves. This place was surrounded with a ⁶valley, exceeding deep, and the access to it was difficult. However, the targeteers, advancing five or six stadia before the heavy-armed men, passed the valley, and seeing there a great many cattle, with other things, attacked the place. They were followed by many pike-men, who had left the camp to get provisions: so that the number

of those who passed the valley amounted to above two thousand men. These, finding themselves unable to take the place by storm (for it was surrounded with a large ditch and a rampart, upon which there were palisades, and many wooden towers), endeavoured to retreat; but the enemy attacked the rear, so that, not being able to make their retreat (for the pass, which led from the place to the valley, was so narrow they could only go one by one) they sent to Xenophon, who was at the head of the heavy-armed men. The messenger acquainted him that the place was furnished with great quantities of effects; "But," says he, "it is so strong, we cannot make ourselves masters of it: neither is it easy for us to retreat; for the enemy, sallying from the place, attacks our rear, and the recess is difficult."

Xenophon, hearing this, advanced to the brink of the valley, and ordered the heavy-armed men to stand to their arms; then passing over with the captains, he considered whether it were better to bring off those who had already passed, or to send for the heavy-armed men to come over also, in expectation of taking the place. He found the first could not be brought off without considerable loss, and the captains were also of opinion that the place might be taken. So Xenophon consented, relying upon the victims; for the priests had foretold there would be an action, and that their⁷ excursion would be attended with success. He sent therefore the captains to bring over the heavy-armed men, and himself staid there, and drew off the targeteers without suffering any of them to skirmish.

As soon as the heavy-armed men came up, he ordered each of the captains to draw up their several companies in such a manner as they thought most advantageous. He did this, because those captains, who were in a perpetual emulation of gallantry, stood near to one another. While these orders were putting in execution, he commanded all the targeteers to advance with their fingers ⁸ in the slings of their darts, which, when the signal was given, they were to lance; and the archers with their arrows on the string, which, upon a signal also, they were to discharge; at the same time he ordered the light-armed men to have their pouches full of stones: and appointed proper persons to see these orders executed. When every thing was ready, and the captains and lieutenants, and the men, who valued themselves no less than their leaders, stood all in their ranks, and viewed one another, (for by reason of the ground the army made a fine appearance) they sung the ⁹ pæan, and the trumpet sounded; then the army shouted, the heavy-armed men ran on, and javelins, arrows, leaden balls, and stones thrown by hand, flew among the enemy; some of the men even throwing fire at them. The great quantity of these missive weapons forced them both from the palisades and the towers; so that Agasias of Stymphalus, and Philoxenus of Pelena, laying down their arms, mounted the rampart in their vests only; when some, being drawn up by their companions, and others getting up by themselves, the place was taken, as they imagined. Upon this, the targeteers and light-armed men, rushing in, plundered every thing they could find,

while Xenophon, standing at the gates, kept as many of the heavy-armed men as he could, without: because other bodies of the enemy appeared upon some eminences, strongly fortified. Not long after, there was a cry heard within, and the men came flying, some with what they had got, and others, possibly, wounded. Upon this, there was great crowding about the gates. Those who got through, being asked what the matter was, said there was a fort within, from which the enemy sallied, and wounded our men who were in the place.

Xenophon, hearing this, ordered Tolmides the crier to publish, that all, who desired to partake of the plunder, should go in; many therefore prepared themselves to enter, and, rushing in, drove back those who were endeavouring to get out, and shut up the enemy again within the fort. The Greeks plundered and carried off every thing they found without it; while the heavy-armed men stood to their arms, some round the palisades, and others upon the road that led to the fort. Then Xenophon and the captains considered whether it were possible to take it, for in that case they secured their retreat, which otherwise would be exceeding difficult: but, upon consideration, the fort was found to be altogether impregnable. Upon this they prepared for their retreat, and each of the men pulled up the palisades that were next to him; then the useless people, together with the greatest part of the heavy-armed men, were sent out to get plunder; but the captains retained those, in whom each of them confided.

As soon as they began their retreat, the enemy sallied upon them, in great numbers, armed with bucklers, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets; while others got upon the houses on each side of the street that led to the fort, so that it was not safe to pursue them to the gates of it, for they threw great pieces of timber from above, which made it dangerous both to stay, and to retire; and the night coming on, increased the terror. While they were engaged with the enemy under this perplexity, some god administered to them a means of safety; for one of the houses on the right hand took fire on a sudden: who set fire to it is not known; but as soon as this house fell in, the enemy quitted all those on the right, and Xenophon, being taught this expedient by fortune, ordered all the houses on the left to be set on fire. These being built of wood were soon in a flame, upon which the enemy quitted them also. There only now remained those in the front to disturb them, it being evident they designed to attack them in their retreat and descent from the fort. Upon this, Xenophon ordered all who were out of the reach of the missive weapons, to bring wood, and lay it in the midway between them and the enemy. When they had brought enough, they set fire to it; setting fire at the same time to the houses that were next the rampart, in order to employ the enemy. Thus, by interposing fire between themselves and the Barbarians, they, with difficulty, made good their retreat; the city, with all the houses, towers, palisades, and every thing else but the fort, was reduced to ashes.

The next day the Greeks marched away with the

provisions they had taken ; but, apprehending some danger in the descent to Trebisond (for it was a steep and narrow defile) they placed a false ambuscade. A certain Mysian by birth as well as name, taking four or five Cretans with him, stopped in a thicket, affecting an endeavour to conceal himself from the enemy, while the flashing of their brazen bucklers discovered them here and there. The enemy therefore, seeing this, were afraid of it, as of a real ambuscade ; in the mean time the army descended. As soon as the Mysian judged they were advanced far enough, he gave the signal to his companions to fly in all haste, and he himself, leaving the thicket, fled, and they with him. The Cretans (expecting to be overtaken) left the road, and, rolling down into the valleys, got safe to a wood ; but the Mysian, keeping the road, called out for help, when some ran to his assistance, and brought him off wounded. These, after they had rescued him, retreated slowly, though exposed to the enemy's missive weapons, while some of the Cretans discharged their arrows in return. Thus they all arrived at the camp in safety.

When neither Cheirisophus returned, nor the ships they had provided were sufficient to transport them, and no more provisions were to be had, they determined to leave the country. To this end they put on board all their sick, and those above forty years of age, together with the women and children, and all their baggage that was not absolutely necessary ; and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, to go on board, and take care of them. The rest travelled by land,

the roads being mended; and the third day, they arrived at Cerazunt, ¹⁰a Greek city, situated in the country of the Colchians, near the sea, and a colony of the Sinopians. Here they staid ten days, during which the soldiers were reviewed in their arms, and an account taken of their number, which amounted to eight thousand six hundred. These were all that were saved out of about ten thousand; the rest were destroyed by the enemy and by the snow, and some by sickness. Here each man received his share of the money that had been raised by the sale of the captives, the tenth part of which they consecrated to Apollo and to Diana of Ephesus. Of this each of the generals received a part to be appropriated by them to that service. Neon the Asinian received that which was designed for Cheirisophus.

Xenophon therefore, having caused an offering to be made for Apollo, consecrated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphos, inscribing it with his own name and that of Proxenus, who was slain with Clearchus, there having been an intercourse of hospitality between them. As to that part of the money which was appropriated to Diana of Ephesus, he left it with Megabysus, the sacristan of that goddess, ¹¹when he departed out of Asia, in company with Agesilaus, with a design to go to Bœotia, conceiving he might be exposed to some danger with him at Choronea. He enjoined Megabysus, if he escaped, to restore the money to him, otherwise to make such an offering with it, as he thought would be most acceptable to the goddess, and dedicate it to her. Afterwards, when Xenophon

was banished from Athens, and lived at Scilus, a town built by the Lacedæmonians near Olympia, Megabysus came to Olympia, to see the games, and restored the deposit. With this money, Xenophon purchased some lands in honour of the goddess, in the place directed by the oracle, through which the river Sellenus happens to run, a river of the same name running also hard by the temple of the Ephesian Diana, and in both there are shell-fish ¹² as well as other fish: besides, there are in this place, near Scilus, wild beasts of all kinds that are proper for the chase. Xenophon also built a ¹³ temple and an altar with this consecrated money; and from that time offered to the goddess an annual sacrifice of the tenth of the product of every season; and all the inhabitants, with the men and women in the neighbourhood, partook of the feast; and all who are present at it, have barley-meal, bread, wine, and sweetmeats in honour of the goddess, and also their share of the victims, that are killed from the consecrated lands, and of the game that is taken. For the sons of Xenophon, and those of the rest of the inhabitants, always made a general hunting against the feast, when all, who desired it, hunted along with them; and wild boars, with ¹⁴ roe and red deer, were taken both upon the consecrated lands, and upon a mountain called Pholoe. The place lies near the road that leads from Lacedæmon to Olympia, about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter, that stands in the last of these cities. There are groves belonging to it, and hills covered with trees, very proper to feed swine, goats, sheep, and horses, so that those belonging to the persons

who come to the feast, find plenty of pasture. The temple itself stands in a grove of fruit trees, that yield all sorts of fruit proper to the season. ¹⁵ It resembles, in little, the temple of Ephesus, and the statue of the goddess is as like that of Ephesus, as a statue of cypress can be to one of gold. Near to the temple stands a pillar with this inscription: "These lands are consecrated to Diana. Let the possessor offer up the tenth part of the annual product in sacrifice, and out of the surplus keep the temple in repair. If he fails, the goddess will punish his neglect."

From Cerazunt, those who went on board before, continued their voyage by sea, and the rest proceeded by land. When they came to the confines of the ¹⁶Mosynœcians, they sent Timesitheus of Trebisonde to them, between whom and them there was an intercourse of hospitality, to ask them, in their name, whether they desired the Greeks should march through their country as friends or as enemies? The Mosynœcians answered, it was equal to them; for they trusted to their places of strength. Upon this Timesitheus informed the Greeks, that the Mosynœcians, who inhabited the country beyond these, were at enmity with them: so they resolved to send to this people to know whether they were disposed to enter into an alliance; and Timesitheus being sent upon this occasion, returned with their magistrates. When they were arrived, they had a conference with the generals of the Greeks, and Xenophon spoke to them in this manner, Timesitheus being the interpreter:

"O Mosynœcians! we propose to go to Greece

by land, for we have no ships: but these people, who, as we understand, are your enemies, oppose our passage. You have it in your power, therefore, if you think proper, by entering into an alliance with us, both to take revenge of them for any injuries they may have formerly done you, and to keep them in subjection for the future. Consider then, whether, if you neglect this opportunity, you are ever like to be supported with so powerful an alliance." To this the chief magistrate of the Mosynœcians made answer, that he approved of this and accepted our alliance. "Let us know then," said Xenophon, "what use you propose to make of us, if we become your allies; and of what service you can be to us in our passage." They answered, "we have it in our power to make an irruption, on the other side, into the country of those who are enemies to us both, and to send hither ships with men, who will be both your auxiliaries, and your guides."

Upon these terms they gave their faith and received ours, and then returned. The next day they came back with three hundred canoes, three men being in each, two of whom disembarking, stood to their arms in order of battle, and the third remained on board. These went away in their canoes, and the rest disposed themselves in the following manner. They drew up in several lines, each consisting of about one hundred men, which, like rows of dancers, faced one another; they had all bucklers, made of the hides of white oxen with the hair on, and shaped like an ivy-leaf; and, in their right hands, a spear six cubits in

length, with a point on the upper part, and on the lower, a ball of the same wood. They wore vests, which did not reach to their knees, of the thickness of ¹⁷ linen bags, in which carpets are usually packed up; and, on their heads, helmets made of leather, like those of the Paphlagonians, from the middle of which there rose a ¹⁸ tuft of hair braided to a point, resembling a tiara. They had also battle-axes made of iron. Then one of them led the way, and all the rest followed, singing also, and marching in time; when, passing through the ranks of the Greeks, as they stood to their arms, they advanced immediately against the enemy, to a fort that seemed in no degree capable of making resistance. This fort stood before the city, which they called the metropolis, that contained within it the most considerable citadel of the Mosynœcians. This citadel was the subject of the present war between them; for those who were in possession of it were always looked upon to have the command of all the rest of the Mosynœcians: they told us that the others had seized this place, contrary to all justice, it belonging to both nations in common, and, by seizing it, had gained the ascendant over them.

Some of the Greeks followed these men, not by the orders of their generals, but for the sake of plunder. The enemy, upon their approach, kept themselves quiet for a time; but, when they came near the fort, they sallied out, and, putting them to flight, killed many of the Barbarians, together with some of the Greeks who were of the party, and pursued them till they saw the Greek army coming up to their assistance. Upon which they turned

and fled: and, cutting off the heads of the slain, they shewed them both to the Greeks and to the Mosynœcians, their enemies; dancing at the same time, and ¹⁹singing a particular tune. This accident gave the Greeks great uneasiness, both because it encouraged the enemy, and because their own men, who were of the party in great numbers, ran away; which had never happened before during the whole expedition. Upon this, Xenophon, calling the soldiers together, spoke to them in this manner. “Gentlemen! do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by what has happened; for the good that attends it is not less than the evil. In the first place, this has convinced you, that our guides are, in reality, enemies to those to whom we are so through necessity. Secondly, those Greeks, who despised our discipline, and thought themselves able to perform as great things, in conjunction with the Barbarians, as with us, are justly punished: so that, for the future, they will be less desirous of leaving our army. Prepare yourselves therefore to let those Barbarians, who are your friends, see, that you are superior to them in courage, and to shew those who are your enemies, that they will not find you the same men now, as when they engaged you, while you were in disorder.”

Thus they passed this day. The next, as soon as they had offered sacrifice, and found the victims favourable, they took their repast. After that, the army being drawn up in columns, and the Barbarians placed on the left in the same disposition, they went on, the archers marching in the intervals, a little within the foremost ranks of the

heavy-armed men; for the enemy's forlorn, consisting of light-armed, advanced before the rest, and discharged a volley of stones among the Greeks. These were repulsed by the archers and targeteers. The rest marched slowly on, and first went against the fort, before which the Barbarians and the Greeks, who were with them, had been put to flight the day before: for here the enemy was drawn up. The Barbarians received the targeteers, and fought with them: but, when the heavy-armed men came up, they fled; and the targeteers immediately followed, pursuing them up the hill to the metropolis, while the heavy-armed men marched on in their ranks. As soon as the Greeks had gained the top of the hill, and came to the houses of the metropolis, the enemy, being now got together in a body, engaged them, and lanced their javelins; and with other spears, which were of that length and thickness that a man could scarce wield one of them, they endeavoured to defend themselves hand to hand.

However, the Greeks pressing hard upon them, and engaging them in a close fight, they fled, and presently all the Barbarians quitted the town. But their king, who resided in a wooden tower situated upon an eminence (whom, while he resides there, and guards the place, they maintain at the public expence), refused to leave it, as did also those who were in the place that was first taken: so they were burned there, together with their towers. The Greeks, in sacking the town, found in the houses great heaps of bread, made, according to the custom of the country, the year before; as the Mosynœcians assured us: and the new corn laid up

in the straw; ²⁰it was most of it spelt. They found also dolphins cut into pieces, lying in pickle in jars: and in other vessels, the fat of the same fish, which the Mosynœcians used as the Greeks do oil. In their garrets were great quantities of ²¹chesnuts. These they boil and generally use instead of bread. There was found wine also, which, when unmixed, was so rough that it appeared sour; but, being mixed with water, became both fragrant and sweet.

The Greeks, having dined there, went forward, delivering up the place to those Mosynœcians who had assisted them in taking it. As for the rest of the towns they arrived at, which belonged to the enemy, the easiest of access were either abandoned or surrendered. The greatest part of which are of this nature; they are distant from one another eighty stadia, some more, some less, and yet, when the inhabitants call out to one another, they can be heard from one town to another: so mountainous and so hollow is the country. The Greeks, proceeding still forwards, arrived among their allies, who shewed them boys belonging to the rich men, fatted with boiled chesnuts: their skin was delicate and exceeding white, and they were very near as thick as they were long. Their backs were painted with various colours, and all their fore parts ²²impressed with flowers. They wanted publicly to make use of the women the Greeks brought with them. It seems this is their custom. The people of this country, both men and women, are very fair. All the army agreed that these were the most barbarous people they had met with in all their expedition, and the most distant from the manners of the

Greeks. For ²³they do those things in public, which others do in private, otherwise they dare not do them at all: and, in private, they behave themselves as if they were in public. They talk to themselves, they laugh by themselves, and dance, wherever they happen to be, as if they were shewing their skill to others. The Greeks were eight days in passing through the enemy's country, and that which belonged to the Mosynœcians their allies.

After that they arrived among the ²⁴Chalybians. These are few in number, and subject to the Mosynœcians: and the greatest part of them subsist by the manufacture of iron. From thence they came to the ²⁵Tibarenians. This is a much more champaign country, and their towns, near the sea, are not so strong. These the generals were disposed to attack, that the army might have the advantage of some plunder. For this reason they declined receiving the presents which the Tibarenians sent them, as a token of hospitality: but, having ordered those who brought them to wait till they had conferred together, they offered sacrifice; and, after many victims were slain, all the priests agreed that the gods by no means allowed them to make war upon this people. Hereupon they accepted their presents, and marching, as through a country belonging to their friends, they came to ²⁶Cotyora, a Greek city, and a colony of the Sinopians, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians.

Thus far the army travelled by land, having, in their retreat from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, made, in one hundred and twenty-two marches, six hundred and twenty parasangas, that

is, eighteen thousand six hundred stadia, in which they spent eight months. Here they staid forty-five days: during which they first offered sacrifice to the gods; ²⁷ then, dividing themselves according to their several nations, made processions, and celebrated gymnastic games. After that they went out to get provisions, taking some out of Paphlagonia, and the rest out of the country of the Cotyrians: for they refused to supply them with a market, or to admit their sick into the city.

In the mean time ambassadors arrived from Sinope; these were in pain both for the city of the Cotyrians, which belonged to them, and paid them tribute, and for the country, which they heard was plundered. When they came to the camp of the Greeks, they spoke thus (Hecatonymus, who was esteemed a man of great eloquence, speaking for the rest): "Gentlemen! the city of Sinope hath sent us hither, first to commend you, for that, being Greeks, you have overcome the Barbarians: next, to congratulate you upon your safe arrival, through many, and (as we are informed) grievous hardships. But we have reason to expect that, as we are Greeks also, we shall rather receive favours than injuries from Greeks: particularly, since we have never provoked you by any ill treatment. I must acquaint you then, that Cotyora is our colony, and that, having conquered this country from the Barbarians, we have given it to them. For which reason, they pay us the tribute at which they are taxed, in the same manner with the inhabitants of Cerazunt and Trebisonde: so that whatever injury you do them, the city of Sinope will look upon it as done to them-

selves. Now, we are informed that you have entered their town by force; that some of you are quartered in their houses, and that you take what you want, out of the country, without their consent. These things we cannot approve of; and, if you continue this behaviour, we shall be obliged to enter into an alliance with Corylas, and the Paphlagonians, and with any other nation we can prevail upon to assist us."

Then Xenophon rose up, and spoke thus in behalf of the soldiers. "We are come hither, O men of Sinope! well satisfied with having preserved our persons, and our arms; for, to bring our booty along with us, and, at the same time, to fight with our enemies, was impossible. And now, since we arrived among the Greek cities, at Trebisonde, for example, we paid for all the provisions we had, because they supplied us with a market: and, in return for the honours they did us, and the presents they gave to the army, we paid them all respect, abstaining from those Barbarians who were their friends, and doing all the mischief we were able to their enemies, against whom they led us. Inquire of them what usage they have received from us; for the guides, whom that city has sent along with us through friendship, are here present. But wherever we find no market provided for us, whether among the Barbarians or Greeks, we supply ourselves with provisions, not through insolence, but necessity. Thus we made the Carduchians, the Chaldæans, and the Taochians, (though no subjects of the king, yet very warlike nations) our enemies, by being obliged to take what we wanted, because they

refused to supply us with a market; while we treated the Macronians, though Barbarians, as friends, and took nothing from them by force, because they supplied us with the best market they were able. And, if we have taken any thing from the Cotyrians, who, you say, are your subjects, they are themselves the cause of it: for they have not behaved themselves to us as friends; but, shutting their gates, would neither suffer us to come within their walls, nor supply us with a market without: and of this they lay the fault upon the person you have sent thither as their governor. As to what you say concerning our quartering in their houses by force, we desired them to receive our sick under their roofs: they refusing to open the gates, we passed through them into the city, without committing any other act of violence; and our sick lodge now in their houses, without putting them to any expence. We have, it is true, placed a guard at the gates, that our people may not be under the power of your governor, but that we may be at liberty to carry them away, whenever we think proper. The rest of us, as you see, encamp, in order, in the open air, prepared, if any one does us a favour, to return it, if an injury, to resent it. You threaten to enter into an alliance with Corylas and the Paphlagonians, if you see convenient, against us. Know then, that, if you force us to it, we will encounter you both (for we have already engaged much more numerous enemies); besides, we have it also in our power, if we think fit, to enter into an alliance with the Paphlagonian; for we are informed that he wants to make himself master both of your city and of the

maritime towns. We shall therefore endeavour, by assisting him in attaining what he desires, to gain his friendship."

Upon this, the rest of the ambassadors shewed a visible dislike of what Hecatonymus had said; and another of them advancing, said they were not come to declare war, but to express their friendship. "And if," says he, "you think fit to come to Sinope, we will receive you in a hospitable manner, and, for the present, directions shall be given to the inhabitants of this place to supply you with every thing they can; for we are sensible you advance nothing but what is true." After this, the Cotyrians sent presents to the army, and the generals of the Greeks also treated the ambassadors with all hospitality. They all conferred together a considerable time in a very friendly manner, and, among other things, the generals inquired concerning the remainder of the way, and both of every thing that related to their respective concerns. And thus ended that day.

The next day the generals thought proper to call the soldiers together, and to consider of the rest of their march, in the presence of the Sinopians; for, if they determined to travel by land, they thought these might be of service to conduct them, for they were well acquainted with Paphlagonia; and, if by sea, they imagined they should also want the assistance of the Sinopians, for they alone seemed capable of providing a sufficient number of ships to transport them. Calling therefore the ambassadors, they consulted together; and the generals desired that, as they themselves were Greeks, they would first shew their hospitality by their benevolence to

Greeks, and by giving them the best advice they were able.

Then Hecatonymus rose up, and first made an apology, for having said that they would enter into an alliance with the Paphlagonian, alleging, that he did not say this with a view of making war upon the Greeks, but to let them see, that, having it in their power to make an alliance with the Barbarians, they preferred that of the Greeks. Being called upon to give his advice, he first invoked the gods: then said thus: "If the advice I am going to give you, appears to me the best, may I be prosperous; otherwise, miserable; for the present counsel seems to be of the nature of those which are termed ²⁸ holy. If therefore I am found to advise you well, I shall have many to applaud me, and, if ill, many to curse me. I am sensible, then, that we shall have much more trouble, if you return by sea; for, in that case, we shall be obliged to supply you with ships; whereas, if you go by land, it will be incumbent on you to fight your way through. However, I must speak what I think, for I am well acquainted both with the country of the Paphlagonians, and with their strength. Their country contains many very fair plains, and mountains of a prodigious height. And, first of all, I know the place where you must, of necessity, enter it; for there is but one pass, and that lies between two points of a rock exceeding high. These a very few men, posted there, may defend; and, if the enemy are once masters of this pass, all the men in the world cannot force their way. This I can make appear to any one you think proper to send along with me. On the other

side of this pass, I am well assured, you will find plains, and upon them a body of horse, which the Barbarians themselves think exceeds all the cavalry the king is master of. These, though lately summoned, did not attend him, their commander being too haughty to obey. But, admit you could even seize the pass between these mountains unobserved, and prevent the enemy, and, afterwards, in the plain, defeat their horse and foot, whose numbers amount to above one hundred and twenty thousand men, you will still find several rivers in your way. First, the ²⁹Thermodon, which is three hundred feet over; the passage of which seems to me very difficult, particularly when you have a numerous army in front, and another in your rear. Secondly, the ³⁰Iris; this is also three hundred feet broad. The third river you will meet with, is the ³¹Halys, not less than two stadia in breadth. This you cannot pass without boats; and who is there to supply you with them? The ³²Parthenius is, in like manner, impassable. This river you would arrive at, if you could pass the Halys. So that I do not look upon this road as only difficult, but absolutely impassable. Whereas if you go by sea, you may sail from hence to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heraclea, and from Heraclea there will be no difficulty, either in going by land, or by sea: for there you will find great numbers of ships."

When he had done speaking, some suspected he said this out of friendship to Corylas (for there was an intercourse of hospitality between them); others, that he expected to be rewarded for his advice; and some, that he said it, fearing lest, if they went by

land, they should do some damage to the country of the Sinopians. However, the Greeks voted to go by sea. After that Xenophon said, "O men of Sinope! the soldiers have determined to go in the manner you advise. But thus the case stands. We are contented to go by sea, provided we are furnished with such a number of ships, that not a man of us shall be left behind. But if it is proposed, that some of us should be left, and some set sail, we are resolved not to go on board at all: because we are sensible, that wherever we are the strongest, we shall not only be safe, but get provisions also; and that, if we are any where found weaker than our enemies, we expect no better usage than to be made slaves." The Sinopians hearing this, desired the Greeks would send ambassadors to them, and accordingly they sent Callimachus an Arcadian, Ariston an Athenian, and Samylas an Achaian; who set out immediately.

In the mean time Xenophon, considering the great number of Greek heavy-armed men, of targeteers, archers, slingers, and horse, who, by long experience, were now become good troops, looked upon it as an enterprize of great reputation to add to the acquisitions of Greece, that of a country, with the power annexed to it, by building a city upon the Euxine Sea, where so great an army could not be got together without a vast expence. He had reason to think this city would grow considerable, both from the number of his own men, and of the neighbouring inhabitants. Calling, therefore, Silanus, of Ambracia, to him, the same who had been soothsayer to Cyrus, he offered sacrifice upon this occasion, before he communicated his thoughts to

any of the soldiers. But Silanus, fearing this should take effect, and that the army should settle in some place, acquainted the soldiers that Xenophon proposed to detain them there, and, by building a city, to acquire reputation and power to himself. The design of Silanus in this was to get to Greece as soon as possible, having saved the three thousand ³³ daricks which he received from Cyrus, when, sacrificing by his order, he told him the truth concerning the ten days. As soon as the soldiers were informed of this, some thought it was best for them to stay there; but the greatest part disapproved of it; and Timasion the Dardanian, and Thorax the Bœotian, told some merchants of Heraclea and Sinope, who were present, that, if they did not supply the men with money sufficient to buy provisions when they set sail, they were in danger of having so great an army settle in their neighbourhood. "For," said they, "Xenophon is the author of this resolution, and advises us, as soon as the ships arrive, immediately to speak to the army in these terms. 'Gentlemen! we observe you are at a loss both how to get provisions for your voyage, and enrich your families in some measure when you come home; but, if you have a mind to make choice of some part of the inhabited country that lies round the Euxine Sea, and possess yourselves of it, and that those who are desirous to return home, may go away, while the rest stay here, we are now furnished with ships for that purpose; so that you have it in your power to make an unexpected descent upon any part of the country you think fit.'"

The merchants, hearing this, informed their cities of it; and Timasion of Dardanus sent Eurymachus, also of Dardanus, and Thorax of Bœotia, with them, to confirm it. As soon as the inhabitants of Sinope and Heraclea were acquainted with this, they sent to Timasion, to engage him, in consideration of a sum of money, to persuade the army to sail out of the Euxine Sea. He was pleased with the offer, and spoke thus in the assembly of the soldiers. "Gentlemen! we ought not to think of staying here, or to prefer any other country to Greece. I hear some people are offering sacrifice upon this occasion, without even acquainting you with their purpose; but I promise you, if you sail from hence the first ³⁴ day of the month, to give each of you a ³⁵ cyzicene, for your monthly pay. My design is to lead you into Troas, from whence I am banished; where my fellow-citizens will assist you, for I know they will receive me with pleasure. Thence I propose to carry you to those parts where you shall enrich yourselves; for I am acquainted with Æolia, Phrygia, and Troas, and with all the country belonging to the government of Pharnabazus; with one of them, by being born there, and with the other, by having served there under Clearchus and Dercellidas."

Immediately Thorax, the Bœotian (who had a perpetual contest with Xenophon for the command), rose up, and said, if they sailed out of the Euxine Sea, they might settle in the Chersonesus, a country of great beauty and fertility: where those who were willing, might inhabit, and from whence those who were not so, might return home. He added, that

it was ridiculous to hunt after lands among the Barbarians, when others, of a great extent, offered themselves in Greece. “And, till you arrive there,” says he, “I, as well as Timasion, promise you pay.” This he said from being acquainted with what the inhabitants of Heraclea and Sinope had promised to Timasion, upon condition the army set sail. All this time Xenophon was silent. Then Philesius and Lycon, both Achaians, said, it was not to be suffered, that Xenophon should persuade the soldiers in private to stay, and offer sacrifice upon this occasion, without letting the army partake of the sacrifice, yet say nothing of all this in public. So that he was under a necessity of rising up, and of speaking as follows :

“Gentlemen! I offer sacrifice, as you are sensible, to the utmost of my abilities, both for you and myself, to the end that my words, my thoughts, and actions may be employed in those things that are most for the credit and advantage of us all. And even now I was consulting the gods by sacrifice, whether it would be more expedient to mention this and treat with you about it, or not to concern myself at all in the matter. Here Silanus, the soothsayer, assured me, that the victims, which is of the greatest moment, were favourable, (for he knew that I, by being constantly present at the sacrifices, was not unacquainted with these things); but informed me, at the same time, that, according to them, some fraud and treachery seemed to threaten me: and in this, indeed, he was in the right, since he himself designed treacherously to accuse me before you; for he has spread a report

that I had already purposed to affect this without your approbation. But the truth is, when I saw you in want, I considered by what means you might possess yourselves of some town, to the end that those among you who are willing, might set sail immediately, and that those who were not so, might stay till they had acquired something to carry home to their families. But now I find both the inhabitants of Heraclea and Sinope are sending us ships, and that these men promise you your pay from the beginning of the month, I look upon it as an advantageous circumstance for us to be conducted, with safety, to the place we desire, and to be ³⁶paid for being preserved. For this reason, I not only give over all thoughts of that kind myself, but desire those who came to me to declare themselves in favour of that measure, to desist also. For this is my sense of the matter; while you continue together as you are now, in great numbers, you will be sure to find esteem, and never to want provisions (for victory carries with it a right to whatever belongs to the conquered.) But if you suffer yourselves to be divided, and the army to be broken into small bodies, you will neither be able to find subsistence, nor have reason to be pleased with your treatment. My opinion, therefore, is the same with yours, that we ought to go on to Greece. And further, if any one stays behind, or is taken endeavouring to desert his companions before the whole army arrives in a place of safety, that he be punished as an offender. And whoever is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands.

However, Silanus cried out, and endeavoured to shew that every one ought to be at liberty to go away. This the soldiers would not bear, but threatened him, if they took him endeavouring to make his escape, to inflict the punishment on him. After this, when the inhabitants of Heraclea were informed that the Greeks had resolved to sail out of the Euxine Sea, and that Xenophon himself had³⁷ put the question, they sent the ships, but disappointed Timasion and Thorax of the money they had promised them to pay the soldiers. Hereupon those who undertook for it were confounded, and afraid of the army; and taking with them the rest of the generals, who were privy to their former designs (these were all, except Neon the Asinian, who commanded under Cheirisophus, then absent), they came to Xenophon, and told him they were sorry for what had passed, and thought the best thing they could do, since they had ships, was to sail to the river Phasis, and possess themselves of the country belonging to the Phasians; of whom the son of Ætes was at that time king. Xenophon made answer, that he would mention nothing of this kind to the army: "But," says he, "do you assemble them, and, if you think fit, propose it." Upon this, Timasion the Dardanian gave his opinion that they ought not to call the soldiers together, but that each of the generals should first endeavour to persuade his own captains to come into it. So they departed to put this in execution.

In the mean time the soldiers were informed of what was in agitation; and Neon told them that

Xenophon, having prevailed upon the rest of the generals, designed to deceive the army, and carry them back to the Phasis. The soldiers hearing this, resented it; and holding assemblies and private meetings among themselves, gave great reason to apprehend they would break out into the same violences they had committed upon the persons of the heralds of the Colchians, and the commissaries of provisions, all of whom they had stoned to death, except those who escaped to the sea. As soon as Xenophon perceived this, he resolved immediately to call the army together, and not suffer them to meet of their own accord: so he ordered the crier to assemble them. They readily obeyed the summons. Then Xenophon, without accusing the other generals of coming to him privately, spoke to them in the following manner:

“ I am informed, gentlemen! that some people accuse me of a design to deceive you, and carry you to the Phasis. Hear me, therefore, for Heaven’s sake, and, if I appear guilty, I do not desire to depart hence, before I receive the punishment that is due to my crime; but if you find they accuse me wrongfully, I hope you will treat them as they deserve. I make no doubt but you all know in what quarter the sun rises, and where it sets; and that the way to Greece lies westward, that to the Barbarians, eastward. Is there any one therefore who can make you believe that the sun rises where it sets, and sets where it rises? You are also sensible that the north wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea to Greece, and the south to the Phasis; and when the wind is in the north, you always say

it is fair for Greece. Can any one therefore so far impose upon you, as to persuade you to go on board when the wind is in the south? But suppose I embark you in a calm: I shall however sail but in one ship, while you sail, at least, in a hundred. How therefore can I either compel you to keep me company against your consent, or deceive you with regard to the place to which I carry you? But let us further suppose that I do deceive you, and, by some magic art, carry you to the Phasis, and also that we land there; you will soon be sensible that you are not in Greece; and I who have deceived you shall be but one man, while you who have been deceived by me, will be near ten thousand with your arms in your hands. By what means therefore can one man court punishment more effectually, than by forming designs so prejudicial both to himself and you? But these rumours are spread by weak men, who envy me because I am honoured by you; though without reason: for which of them do I hinder from proposing any thing for your advantage, if he can; from fighting both for you or himself, if he is willing; or from watching for your safety, if he is disposed to undertake that care. Why should I hinder them? When you choose your commanders, do I oppose the pretensions of any person? I ³⁸resign; let him take the command; only let him make it appear he can do something for your advantage: but I have said enough of this. If any of you thinks himself in danger of being deceived, or that any other person has deceived him in this, let him declare it; but since you have heard enough of

this subject, I desire you would not depart untill I have acquainted you with a thing, that I find begins to shew itself in the army: which, if it makes any progress, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is high time for us to take proper measures, that we may not appear both to gods and men, to friends and enemies, the most abandoned and most infamous of all men, and consequently incur a general contempt." The soldiers, hearing this, wondered what it might be, and desired him to go on; so he resumed his discourse. "You know there were some towns upon the mountains belonging to those Barbarians who were in alliance with the inhabitants of Cerazunt; from whence some of the people came down to us, and sold us cattle and other things. Some of you, I believe, went into the nearest of these towns, and after you had bought provisions there, returned to the camp. Clearatus, one of the captains, finding this place both small and unguarded, because the inhabitants looked upon themselves to be in friendship with us, marched against them in the night, with a design to plunder it, without acquainting any of us with his purpose. For he determined, if he had made himself master of the place, to have returned no more to the army, but to have gone on board the ship in which his companions were sailing by the coast, and, with his booty, to have escaped out of the Euxine Sea. And all this was concerted between him and his companions, who were on board, as I am now informed. Calling, therefore, together as many as he could prevail upon to follow him, he led them against the town. But the day surprising

them in their march, the inhabitants got together, and defended themselves from their strong places so well, both with missive weapons, and their swords, that Clearatus himself, and several others, were slain; part of them, however, escaped to Cerazunt. This happened the same day we left Cerazunt to march hither. Some of those also who were to sail along the coast, were still in that city, having not as yet weighed anchor. After this, as the inhabitants of Cerazunt inform us, three of the elders came from the town, desiring to be introduced to the assembly of the Greeks; but not finding us, they told the citizens of Cerazunt, they wondered what we meant by attacking them. These assured them, that the attempt was not countenanced by public authority: with which they were very well satisfied, and resolved to sail hither, in order to give us an account of what had passed, and to let us know that they gave leave to those who were willing to carry off the dead, and bury them. It happened that some of the Greeks, who had fled to Cerazunt, were still there. These, perceiving whither the Barbarians proposed to go, had the confidence to throw stones at them themselves, and to encourage others to do the same. By this means these ambassadors, being three in number, were stoned to death. After the fact was committed, some of the inhabitants of Cerazunt came to the generals, and informed us of what had happened. These proceedings gave us great concern, and we consulted together with them, in what manner the Greeks who were slain might be buried. While we were sitting in consultation

without the quarter of the heavy-armed men, on a sudden we heard a great uproar, and people crying out 'Knock ³⁹them down, knock them down; stone them, stone them;' and immediately we saw great numbers running to those who cried out, some with stones in their hands, others taking them up. Upon this the inhabitants of Cerazunt, ⁴⁰having been witnesses of what had happened in their own town, were frightened, and ran to their ships: some of us also, I do assure you, were not without fear. For my part, I went directly up to them, and asked them what the matter was? Some of those I inquired of knew nothing of it; yet had stones in their hands. At last, meeting with one who did know, he told me that the commissaries of provisions oppressed the army in a most grievous manner. While he was saying this, one of the soldiers perceived the commissary Zelarchus retiring towards the sea, and cried out; the rest, hearing this, as if a wild boar or a stag had been roused, ran at him. The citizens of Cerazunt, seeing the soldiers making towards them, and thinking themselves aimed at, fled in all haste, and ran into the sea. Some of our men ran in after them, and those who could not swim were drowned. What do you think these men were afraid of? They had committed no crime; they must imagine that some madness, like that of dogs, had seized our men. If these things continue, consider what will be the condition of the army. You will not have it in your power, by a general consent, to make either war or peace, as you see convenient; but every private man may lead the army upon whatever

enterprise he pleases. And if, at any time, ambassadors come to you to sue for peace, or for any thing else, any one may put them to death, and thereby prevent your being informed of their demands. The consequence of which will be, that those, whom you, by a general voice, appoint to command you, will be no longer regarded; but whoever erects himself to be your general, and pleases to cry, 'Stone them, stone them,' may, if he finds the same obedience that was lately given, put to death not only your commander, but any private man, untried. Consider what services these self-elected generals have done for us. If Zelarchus, the commissary, is guilty, he has, by sailing away, escaped punishment; if he is innocent, he has left the army, from the fear of being unjustly put to death without trial. Those who have stoned the ambassadors, have done you this piece of service—they have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerazunt, without a force sufficient to protect you; and not less so even with ⁴¹ a herald to bring off your dead, whom, before this, the same persons who killed them, gave you leave to bury: for who that had a hand in killing heralds, will serve in that capacity? However, we have desired the citizens of Cerazunt to bury them. If these things are right, give them a public sanction, that, as attempts of this kind are to be expected, every man may be upon his guard, and endeavour to pitch his tent upon places of advantage and strength. But if you look upon them rather as the actions of wild beasts, than of men, consider how to put a stop to them. Otherwise, how, in the name of the gods, shall we

offer sacrifice with cheerfulness, if we are guilty of impiety? Or how shall we fight with our enemies, if we kill one another? What city will receive us as friends, when they see us guilty of such enormities? Who will bring provisions to us, with any confidence, if we are found to offend in things of so great moment? As to the applause which we promised ourselves with so much confidence, who will speak well of us if we dishonour ourselves by such actions? For I am well assured that we should condemn others, were they guilty of them."

Upon this, they all rose up, and said the authors of these disorders should be punished; that it should be unlawful to begin such enormities for the future, and that those who were guilty of it, should be put to death. They then ordered that the generals should bring them all to their trial; where it should be inquired whether any person had received any other injury since the death of Cyrus; and appointed the captains to be the judges. At the same time, upon ⁴²Xenophon's motion, and the concurrence of the priests, it was resolved to purify the army. And the army was purified accordingly.

They further decreed, that the generals themselves should be called to an account for their past conduct; and, upon their trial, Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned in a fine of twenty mines, to the amount of which sum they had embezzled ⁴³the effects that had been taken out of the ships, and committed to their charge. Sophænetus was fined ten mines, for that, being chosen a commander, he had neglected his duty. Some accused Xenophon,

complaining they had been beaten by him, and brought their accusation against him for abusing them. Upon this, Xenophon rising up, desired the first person, who appeared against him, to acquaint the judges where he had been beaten. He answered, "Where we were dying with cold, and there was abundance of snow." Xenophon replied: "If, during the storm you speak of, when we had no victuals, nor so much wine as would serve us to smell to; when many of us were spent with labour, and the enemy at our heels; if in that season I was abusive, I own myself more ⁴⁴vicious than asses, which, through viciousness, are said to be insensible of fatigue. However, say for what reason you were beaten. Did I demand any thing of you, and beat you, because you refused it? Did I insist upon your restoring any thing? Was it in struggling to subdue you to my passion, or when I was drunk, that I abused you?" And, upon his saying that it was nothing of all this, Xenophon asked him "whether he belonged to the heavy-armed men?" He answered, "No." "If to the targeteers?" "Neither," says he: "but I was driving a mule, at the desire of my comrades, being a free man." Upon this, Xenophon called him to mind, and asked him, "Are you not the man who carried the sick person?" "The same," says he; "for you forced me to it, and threw about the baggage, that belonged to my comrades." "But," says Xenophon, "in this manner I threw about their baggage; I distributed it to others to carry, with orders to return it to me; and having received every thing safe, I restored them to you, after you had shewn

me the man I gave you in charge. But I desire," says he, "you will hear how this matter was, for it is well worth while.

"One of the men, being unable to continue his march, was left behind. This man I knew no otherwise than that he belonged to the army; however, I obliged you to carry him, that he might not perish: for, as I remember, the enemy were at our heels." This the other confessed. "Then," says Xenophon, "after I had ordered you to go before, I quickly overtook you again, as I came up with the rear guard, and found you digging a pit, with a design to bury the man; and stopping, I commended you: but the man drawing in his leg while we stood by, all who were present cried out, that he was alive; and you said whatever you thought fit, as, 'I will not carry him.' Upon which I struck you, you say, and you say true: for you seemed to me to be sensible the man was alive." "But," says the other, "did he die the less after I shewed him to you?" "We must all die," replies Xenophon, "but are we for that reason to be buried alive?" At this they all cried out, that he had not beaten him so much as he deserved. Then Xenophon desired the rest to inform the judges for what reason each of them had been beaten; but they not rising up, he spoke thus:—

"I own, gentlemen, that I have struck a great many of the men, for not keeping their ranks. These ought to have been contented with being preserved by your means, while you marched in order, and fought where it was necessary; but in-

stead of that, they wanted to leave their ranks, and run before you for plunder, that they might have the advantage over you. Had we all done the same, we had all been destroyed. I own also, that finding some overcome with sloth, unwilling to rise, and ready to abandon themselves to the enemy, I struck them, and forced them to march. For being myself once obliged, when it was excessive cold, to stay for some of the men who were getting their baggage ready, and sitting for a considerable time, I found myself scarce able to rise and stretch out my legs. Having, therefore, had the experience of this in myself, afterwards, when I saw any one sitting down, and indulging his sloth, I drove him before me; for motion and vigorous efforts created warmth and ⁴⁵suppleness, while sitting down and rest, I observed, made the blood to congeal, and the toes to rot off; which you are sensible was the case of a great many. Others, who suffered themselves to be left behind through laziness, and by that means hindered you, who were in the van, and us, who were in the rear, from advancing, I might possibly strike with my fist, that they might not be struck by the spear of the enemy. These, therefore, who have been thus preserved, may, if they have suffered any unjust treatment from me, now be relieved; whereas, had they fallen under the power of the enemy, what relief could they have had, though their treatment had been ever so grievous? I speak to you in all simplicity. If I have punished any one for his own good, I am willing to submit to the same chastisement that parents receive from their children, and masters

from their scholars. Physicians, also, use incisions and caustics for the good of their patients. If you imagine I did these things through insolence, consider with yourselves, that now, with the assistance of the gods, I entertain greater hopes and confidence than at that time, and drink more wine, yet strike no man; for I see you are now in a calm. But when a storm arises, and the sea runs high, do not you find that the ⁴⁶pilot, for a nod only, quarrels with those who are at the head of the ship, and the steersmen with those at the stern? because, upon those occasions, the least fault is enough to ruin every thing. You yourselves then determined that their chastisement was just; for you were present with arms in your hands, to assist them if you had thought proper, not with ⁴⁷billets to give your votes in their behalf. However, in reality, you neither assisted them in escaping the punishment due to their irregularity, nor me in inflicting it. Thus, by suffering their insolence, you have given a sanction to their remissness: for I am of opinion, if you observe, you will find that those who were then most remarkable for their neglect of duty, are now so for their insolence. An instance of this you see in Boiscus, the Thessalian boxer: he then contended, under pretence of sickness, not to carry his shield, and now I am informed, he has stripped several of the inhabitants of Cotyora. If you are wise, therefore, your treatment of this man will be the reverse of that bestowed on dogs; for these when they are cursed, are tied up in the day-time, and let loose in the night; whereas, if you do well, you will tie him up in the night, and let him loose

in the day. I own I am surprised to find, that, if I have given offence to any of you, you call it to mind, and publish it: but if I have defended any from the cold, or from the enemy, or relieved them when they were sick, or in want, these things are remembered by none of you: if I have commended any for a proper behaviour, or honoured brave men to the utmost of my power, these things also are not remembered: yet it is certain, there is more honesty, justice, piety, and pleasure in remembering good than ill offices."

Upon this the assembly rose, and called to mind what was passed: so Xenophon was ⁴⁸acquitted, and all was well.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VI.

FROM this time, some of the Greeks, while they staid here, subsisted themselves by the provisions they bought in the market, and others, by those they got in plundering the country of Paphlagonia. On the other side, the Paphlagonians lost no opportunity of robbing the stragglers, and, in the night-time, endeavoured to annoy those who were encamped in places more advanced than the rest. These proceedings increased the ill blood that was between them. Upon this, Corylas, who was at that time governor of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks in costly robes, and well mounted, with instructions to acquaint them that Corylas desired neither to do an injury to the Greeks, or receive any from them. To this the generals answered, that they would consider of it with the army. In the mean time, they entertained them with all hospitality, and invited such of the army as they judged most proper; then, having killed some of the oxen they had taken, and other cattle, they gave them a handsome entertainment, the company lying 'on beds made of

brushwood covered with grass and leaves, and drinking out of horn cups which they found in the country.

As soon as the libations were over, and they had sung the pæan, two Thracians first rose up, and danced with their arms to the sound of a flute: they capered very high, and with great agility; then made use of their swords. At last, one of them struck the other, in such a manner that every one thought he had killed him (but the stroke was given with art), upon which the Paphlagonians cried out; and the other, having despoiled him of his arms, went out ²singing a song of triumph in honour of Sitalces: then other Thracians carried off the man as if he had been dead, though indeed he was not hurt. After this, some ³Ænians and Magnesians rose up, and ⁴danced in their arms what they call the Carpæan dance; the manner of which was as follows. One of them, having laid down his arms, sows, and drives a yoke of oxen, looking often behind him, as if he were afraid; then a robber approaches, whom the other perceiving, he catches up his arms, and, advancing, fights with him ⁵in defence of his oxen, (and all this these men performed in time to the flute.) At last, the robber binds the ploughman, and carries him off with the oxen. Sometimes, the ploughman overcomes the robber, and, fastening him to the oxen, ties his hands behind him, and so drives him away.

After this, Mysus entered with a buckler in each hand, and danced sometimes, as if he had been engaged with two adversaries; then used his bucklers, as if engaged with only one; sometimes

he ⁶whirled round; then threw himself head foremost and fell upon his feet, without parting with the bucklers: this made a fine sight. Last of all he danced the Persian dance, striking his bucklers against each other, and, in dancing, fell upon his knees, then sprung up again, and in all this he kept time to the flute. He was succeeded by some Mantineans and other Arcadians, who, being dressed in the handsomest armour they could provide, rose up, and advanced in time to a flute that played a point of war. They sung the pæan, and danced in the same manner that is practised in solemn processions. The Paphlagonians were amazed to see all these dances performed by men in arms. Upon this, Mysus, perceiving their astonishment, prevailed upon one of the Arcadians, who had a woman dancer, to let him bring her in; which he did accordingly, after he had dressed her in the handsomest manner he was able, and given her a light buckler. She danced the ⁷Pyrrhick dance with great agility: upon which there was great clapping; and the Paphlagonians asked whether the women also charged with their troops. The others answered that it was they, who drove the king out of their camp. This was the end of that night's entertainment.

The next day the generals brought the ambassadors to the army: when the soldiers came to a resolution neither to do any injury to the Paphlagonians, or suffer any from them. After that, the ambassadors departed: and the Greeks, finding they had as many ships as they wanted, embarked and sailed with a fair wind all that day and the next

night, keeping Paphlagonia on their left hand : and the day after they arrived at Sinope, and anchored in ⁸ Harmene, one of its ports. Sinope is situated in Paphlagonia ; it is a colony of the Milesians. The inhabitants sent the Greeks, as a mark of hospitality, three thousand ⁹ medimni of flour, and fifteen hundred ¹⁰ ceramia of wine. Hither Cheirisophus came with some galleys. The soldiers expected he would bring them something : however he brought nothing, but gave them an account that both Anaxibius the admiral, and the rest of the Lacedæmonians celebrated their praise, and that the former promised them, if they would come out of the Euxine Sea, they should have pay.

The soldiers staid five days at Harmene : and looking upon themselves to be in the neighbourhood of Greece, they were more desirous, than before, to carry some booty home with them. ¹¹ They thought, if they made choice of one general, that single person would find a readier obedience from the army both by night and day, than if the command were vested in many ; where it was necessary for him to conceal his designs, he would conceal them better, and where to prevent the enemy, he would use greater expedition, for there would then be no need of conferences, but whatever that single person resolved upon, would be put in execution : for hitherto in all operations the generals were governed by the majority. While they had these things under consideration, they cast their eyes on Xenophon ; and the captains came to him and acquainted him with the resolution of the army : and each of them, expressing his affection to him,

endeavoured to prevail upon him to undertake the command. Xenophon was not averse to it, when he considered that he should, by this means, increase both his credit with his friends, and his reputation in his country, and that possibly also, he might be the cause of some advantage to the army.

These considerations led him to desire to be commander in chief. On the other side, when he reflected that future events being concealed from all mankind, he might, for that reason, run a hazard of losing the glory he had already gained, he was in suspense. While he was in this doubt, he thought the best thing he could do was to consult the gods: in the presence, therefore, of two priests, he offered sacrifice to ¹²Jupiter the King, to whom he was directed by the oracle of Delphos to address himself; and whom he looked upon to be the author of the dream he had, when, together with the other generals, he was first appointed to take charge of the army. He called to mind also that, when he left Ephesus in order to be presented to Cyrus, ¹³an eagle cried on his right, sitting however on the ground, which the priest, who accompanied him, said was an omen, that portended something great, and above a private station, something illustrious, though toilsome; for other birds attack the eagle chiefly when she is sitting upon the ground. He added, that the omen foretold nothing lucrative, because, when the eagle preys, she is generally upon the wing. While, therefore, he was offering sacrifice upon this occasion, the god plainly signified to him, that he ought neither to seek the command,

nor, if they chose him, to accept it: and this was the issue of that affair. However, the army assembled, and they all agreed to choose a single person to command them: this, therefore, being determined, they proposed him: when it was manifest they would choose him, if any one put the question, he rose up, and spoke as follows:

“Gentlemen! as I am a man, I take a pleasure in the honour you design me, and return you thanks for it; I also beseech the gods to give me an opportunity of being the occasion of some advantage to you: but I cannot think it will be any either to you or myself to give me the preference, when a Lacedæmonian is present: on the contrary, if you should want their assistance in any thing, you will, by this means, be the less entitled to it. Neither do I look upon this as a thing altogether safe for me to engage in: for I am sensible they never ceased making war upon my country, till they made the whole city acknowledge, that the Lacedæmonians were the masters of Athens, as well as of the rest of Greece; however, upon this acknowledgment, they desisted, and immediately raised the siege of that city. If therefore I, who am sensible of this, should seem, where I have it in my power, to invalidate their authority, I have reason to fear that I should very soon be taught my duty. As to your opinion, that the command of a single person will leave less room for contest, than that of many, be assured that, if you choose another, you shall find I will not oppose him; for I look upon it, that, in war, whoever opposes his commander, opposes his own safety: ¹⁴ whereas, if you choose me, I shall

not be surprised, if you find others, who will be offended both at you and me."

After he had said this, much greater numbers than before rose up, and said, he ought to take upon him the command. And Agasias the Stymphalian alleged it would be ridiculous to suppose what was mentioned to be true; because, at that rate, the Lacedæmonians might as well be angry, if, when they met to sup together, they did not choose a Lacedæmonian for their president: "for," says he, "if that is the case, neither ought we, it seems, to be captains, because we are Arcadians." Upon this the assembly shewed by their murmur that they approved of what he said.

Xenophon seeing it was necessary to enforce what he had alleged, advanced, and went on. "But, gentlemen! that you may know all the circumstances of this affair, I swear by all the gods and goddesses, that, after I was acquainted with your resolution, I sought, by sacrifice, to know whether it were for your advantage to confer this command upon me, and for mine to accept it: and the gods signified to me, by the victims, in so clear a manner that the most ignorant man could not mistake it, that I ought to decline the command." Upon this they chose Cheirisophus, who, after he was chosen, came forward, and said, "Be assured, gentlemen! I should have given you no opposition, if your choice had fallen upon another. But," says he, "you have done a service to Xenophon by not choosing him, since Dexippus has lately accused him to Anaxibius, in the strongest manner he was able, though I endeavoured all I could to silence

him." Cheirisophus added that he thought Anaxibius would rather desire Timasion of Dardanus, who had served under Clearchus, for his colleague, than himself, though he was a Lacedæmonian. "But," says he, "since you have made choice of me, I shall endeavour, on my part, to do you all the service in my power. In the mean time, be ready to sail to-morrow, if the weather is favourable. Heraclea is the port we must all endeavour to arrive at. When we are there, we will consider of what we have farther to do."

The next day they weighed anchor with a fair wind, and sailed two days along the coast; and, in their passage, saw the ¹⁵ Jasonian shore, where the ship Argo is said to have come to land; and the mouths of several rivers; first that of the ¹⁶ Thermodon; then of the ¹⁷ Halys, and, afterwards, that of the ¹⁸ Parthenius: and, having sailed by the last, they arrived at ¹⁹ Heraclea, a Greek city, and a colony of the Megarians, situated in the country of the Maryandeniens. They came to an anchor near to the peninsula of Acherusias, where Hercules is said to have descended to bring up Cerberus, and where they shew, at this day, a chasm, two stadia in depth, as a monument of his descent. The inhabitants of Heraclea sent the Greeks three thousand medimni of barley meal, and two thousand ceramia of wine, as hospitable presents, with twenty oxen, and one hundred sheep. Here the river Lycus, about two hundred feet broad, runs through the plain.

The soldiers being assembled, deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the way till

they were out of the Euxine, by land or by sea; when Lycon of Achaia rising up, said, “I ²⁰ wonder, gentlemen! at our generals, for not endeavouring to find money for us to buy provisions: for the presents we have received will not subsist the army three days; neither is there any place,” says he, “from whence we can supply ourselves. My advice therefore is, that we demand of the inhabitants of Heraclea no less than three thousand ²¹ cyzicenes.” Another said a month’s pay, no less than ten thousand: and that “we ought to choose ambassadors, and send them immediately to the town while we were assembled, to the end we might know what answer they thought proper to return, and thereupon consider what measures to take.” Upon this they proposed sending, as ambassadors, first Cheirisophus, because they had chosen him for their general; and some named Xenophon. But both these declined it absolutely; for they concurred in opinion, that they ought not to constrain a Greek city, in friendship with them, to supply them with any thing against their will. When they found these were unwilling to go, they sent Lycon of Achaia, Callimachus of Parrhasie, and Agasias of Stymphalus. These, going to the town, informed the inhabitants of the resolutions of the army: it was said Lycon even added threats, if they did not comply with all their demands. The inhabitants, hearing this, said they would consider of it, and immediately removed all their ²² effects out of the country, and carried all their provisions into the town: at the same time the gates were shut, and men in arms appeared upon the walls.

Hereupon, the authors of these disturbances accused the generals of having defeated the design; and the Arcadians and Achaians assembled together: (they were chiefly headed by Callimachus the Parrhasian, and Lycon the Achaian.) They said it was a shame that one Athenian, who had brought no forces to the army, should have the command both of the Peloponnesians and Lacedæmonians. They said they had the labour, and others the profit; which was the less to be suffered, because the preservation of the army was owing to them; for they said the Arcadians and Achaians had preserved it, and that the rest of the army was nothing: (and it was true the Arcadians and Achaians made above half the army:) If, therefore, they were wise, they ought to assemble, and, having chosen their own generals, to march by themselves, and endeavour to get some booty. This was resolved: and those Arcadians and Achaians, who served under Cheirisophus, leaving him and Xenophon, joined the rest, and chose their own generals, to the number of ten. These they voted to execute whatever should be approved of by the majority. Here, therefore, ended the generalship of Cheirisophus, the sixth or seventh day after he was chosen.

Xenophon was inclined to march in their company, looking upon that as safer than for every one to travel by himself; but Neon, who had been informed by Cheirisophus, that Cleander, the Lacedæmonian²³ governor of Byzantium, said he would come to the port of Calpe, with some galleys, persuaded him to go by himself. He gave him this

advice to the end that none should partake of this opportunity, but only they, with their own soldiers, should go on board the galleys : and Cheirisophus, partly discouraged at what had happened, and partly through the hatred he, from that time, conceived against the army, permitted Xenophon to do as he thought fit. The latter had some thoughts also of leaving that part of the army that remained with him, and of sailing away ; but while he was offering sacrifice to Hercules the Conductor, and consulting that god, whether it were better for him to march on with the rest of the soldiers, or to leave them, the god signified, by the victims, that he should go on with them. By this means the army was divided into three bodies : the first consisted of Arcadians and Achaïans, being above four thousand five hundred in number, all heavy-armed men ; the second, of fourteen hundred heavy-armed men, and seven hundred targeteers, belonging to Cheirisophus, the last being Thracians, who had served under Clearchus ; and the third, of seventeen hundred heavy-armed men, and three hundred targeteers, who followed Xenophon ; the horse, which amounted to about forty, were solely commanded by him.

The Arcadians, having furnished themselves with ships from the inhabitants of Heraclea, first set sail, that, by falling upon the Bythinians unawares, they might get the greater booty. With this view, they landed in the port of Calpe, situated about the middle of ²⁴Thrace. Cheirisophus, leaving Heraclea, travelled through the country ; but when he arrived in Thrace, he kept near the sea, because he was in an ill state of health ; and Xenophon, having pro-

vided himself with ships, landed upon the confines of Thrace, and of the territory of Heraclea, and, from thence, marched through the middle of the country.

In what manner, therefore, the generalship of Cheirisophus was abrogated, and the Greek army divided, has been already related. The actions of each of them were as follows: The Arcadians, landing by night at the port of Calpe, marched to the next villages, at the distance of about fifty stadia from the sea. When it was light, each of their generals led his own division to a village, and where any of the villages seemed larger than the rest, they marched in a body formed of two divisions: at the same time they fixed upon a hill where they were all to re-assemble; and as their irruption was unexpected, they ²⁵ took many slaves besides great numbers of cattle.

The Thracians, who escaped, got together: for being targeteers, many of them made their escape from the Greeks, who were heavy-armed men. Being now assembled in a body, they first attacked the division commanded by Smicres, one of the Arcadian generals, while he was upon his march to the place of rendezvous with a considerable booty. For some time, the Greeks fought as they marched; but while they were passing a valley, the Thracians put them to flight, and killed Smicres with all his men. They also defeated another division commanded by Hegesander, one of the ten generals, eight only escaping, and with them Hegesander himself. The rest of the generals came to the place of rendezvous, some with difficulty, and

others without any at all. The Thracians, after this advantage, gave notice to one another, and assembled, with great resolution, in the night : and as soon as it was day, great numbers of horse and targeteers were drawn up round the hill, upon which the Greeks were encamped ; and their numbers continually increasing, they attacked the heavy-armed men, with great security ; for the Greeks had neither archers, darters, or horse ; while the others, advancing with their light-armed men, and horse, lanced their darts, and, when the Greeks offered to attack them, retreated with ease, and, assailing them in different places, gave several wounds, without receiving any ; so that the Greeks could not stir from the place, and were at last debarred from water by the Thracians. Being reduced to great extremity, terms of accommodation were proposed, and other things were agreed upon ; but the Thracians refused to give hostages, which the Greeks insisted on. This put a stop to the treaty ; and this was the situation of the Arcadians.

In the mean time, Cheirisophus, marching with safety along the coast, arrived at the port of Calpe. While Xenophon was upon his march through the middle of the country, his horse, who were upon the scout, met with some ambassadors, who were travelling the road. When they were brought to Xenophon, he asked them, whether they had any where heard of another Greek army. These men informed him of every thing that had passed ; that the Greeks were actually besieged upon a hill, and that the whole army of the Thracians had surrounded them on all sides. Upon this he ordered the men

to be strictly guarded, that he might use them as guides, where it was necessary ; and having placed his scouts, he assembled the soldiers, and spoke to them as follows :

“ Gentlemen, part of the Arcadians are slain, and the rest besieged upon a hill. It is my opinion, that if these are destroyed, all hopes of our own safety are desperate, the enemy being so numerous, and so much emboldened by their success. The best thing, therefore, we can do, is immediately to march to their relief ; that if they are still alive, we may have their assistance in battle, rather than, by being left alone, be alone exposed to the danger of it. Let us, therefore, for the present, march on till supper-time, and then encamp ; and while we are upon our march, let Timasion, with the horse, advance before, keeping us still in sight, and reconnoitre the country, to prevent surprise.” At the same time, he sent those of the light-armed men, who were most prepared for expedition, to the sides and tops of the hills, with orders if they saw any thing to give notice. He ordered them also to set fire to every combustible thing they met with. “ For,” says he, “ we have no place to fly to : it is a great way back to Heraclea ; a great way through the country to Chrysopolis, and the enemy is near at hand. Indeed, it is not far to the port of Calpe, where we conclude Cheirisophus is arrived, if he has met with no accident ; but when we are there, we shall find neither ships to transport us, nor provisions to subsist us even for one day. However, if those who are besieged should perish, it will be more disadvantageous for us to hazard a battle in

conjunction with the troops belonging to Cheirisophus only, than, if they are preserved, to join all our forces, and make our preservation a common concern. But let us go with this resolution, either to die with honour, upon this occasion, or perform the greatest of all actions in preserving so many Greeks. Possibly, God has ordained this with a design of humbling those who magnified their prudence, as superior to ours, and of rendering us, who derive all our hopes from the gods, more renowned than they. Follow then your leaders, and be attentive to the orders you receive, that you may obey them."

When he had said this, he put himself at their head. The horse, spreading themselves over the country, as far as was proper, set fire to every thing where they passed, and the targeteers, marching abreast upon the eminences, set fire also to every thing they found combustible, as did the army also to what the others happened to leave; so that the whole country seemed in a blaze, and the army appeared very numerous. When it was time, they encamped on a hill, and discovered the enemy's fires, from whom they were distant about forty stadia; upon this they made as many fires as they could. But when they had supped, orders were given that all the fires should immediately be put out: and having placed guards, they went to sleep. The next morning, by break of day, after they had invoked the gods, they put themselves in order of battle, and marched with all the haste they could. Timasion and the horse, with the guides, advancing before the army, found themselves, be-

fore they were aware, upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged. Here they saw neither friends nor enemies (of which they gave notice to Xenophon and the army), but only some old men and women, with a few sheep and oxen, that were left behind. At first, they wondered what the matter was, but afterwards they understood, by the people who were left, that the Thracians went away as soon as the evening came on; and the Greeks, the next morning; but whither, they said, they could not tell.

Xenophon and his men, hearing this, after they had eat their breakfast, got their baggage ready, and marched on, desiring as soon as possible to join the rest of the Greeks at the port of Calpe. In their march, they saw the footing of the Arcadians and Achaians, in the road leading to Calpe; and, when they overtook them, they were pleased to see one another, and embraced like brothers. The Arcadians asked Xenophon's men, why they had put out their fires? "for," said they, "we thought at first, when we saw no more fires, that you designed to attack the enemy in the night; (and they, as we imagined, were apprehensive of this, and for that reason went away, for they retired about that time); but you not coming, and the time wherein we expected you being expired, we concluded, that, being informed of our situation, you were terrified, and had retired to the sea-side. Whereupon, we resolved not to be far behind you, and this was the reason of our marching hither also."

That day they encamped upon the shore near

the port. This place, which is called the port of Calpe, is situated in the Asiatic Thrace. This Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine Sea, and extends on the right hand, as far as Heraclea. To which place, from Byzantium, ²⁶it is as far as a trireme galley can row in the longest day. Between these two cities there is no town belonging either to the Greeks, or their allies; but all the coast is inhabited by Thracians or Bithynians; and whatever Greeks are thrown upon their coast by shipwreck, or by any other accident, fall into their hands, they are said to abuse them in the most savage manner. The port of Calpe lies in the mid-way between Heraclea and Byzantium. A promontory runs out into the sea, of which that part which lies contiguous to it, is a craggy rock, in height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathom. The neck of land by which this promontory is joined to the continent, is about four hundred feet in breadth; and the space within this neck is ample enough to afford habitation for ten thousand men. The port lies under the rock upon the western shore; and, close to the sea, flows a spring plentifully supplied with fresh water; this spring is commanded by the rock. This place affords great plenty of timber, particularly that which is proper for building ships, in great quantities, and in great perfection close to the sea. The mountain that lies next the port, reaches about twenty stadia into the mid-land. The soil is a mould free from stones; but that part of it which lies next the sea, and extends above twenty stadia, is covered with great numbers of stately trees of

every kind. The rest of the country is pleasant and spacious, abounding with villages well inhabited; for it produces barley, wheat, and all sorts of legumens, panic, sesame, a sufficient quantity of figs, vines in abundance, yielding a sweet wine, and every thing else but olive trees. This is the nature of the country.

The soldiers encamped along the shore: had they entered into any of the villages, they would not have quartered there; because they suspected they were drawn thither by the artifice of some people, who were desirous to build a city there. For the greatest part of them had not engaged in this service through want, but induced by the reputation of Cyrus, some even bringing soldiers with them, who had spent their fortunes, some having left their fathers and mothers, and others their children, with a design to return, when they had acquired enough to enrich them; for they heard that the other Greeks, who before served under Cyrus, had made their fortunes. This being their situation, they were desirous to return, in safety, to Greece.

The morning after the junction of their forces Xenophon offered sacrifice concerning their going out of the camp (for there was a necessity to lead them out in order to get provisions); he also proposed to bury the dead. The victims being favourable, the Arcadians also followed him, and they buried the greatest part of the dead, where each of them lay, (for their bodies having lain five days, there was no possibility of bringing them away) some of them they removed out of the roads, and,

laying them in a heap, buried them with all the decency that their present circumstances would admit of. As for those whose bodies could not be found, they erected a large ²⁷ cenotaph, with a great funeral pile, which they crowned with garlands. Having performed these things they returned to their camp: and after they had supped, went to rest. The next day there was a general meeting of the soldiers, (they were chiefly assembled by Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, and Hieronymus of Elis, a captain also, and by the oldest Arcadian officers); in which they came to this resolution, that, for the future, whoever proposed dividing the army, should be punished with death; that the army should march in the same disposition it was in before, and that the same generals should command. Cheirisophus having lost his life by a medicine he took in a fever, Neon the Asinæan succeeded him.

After this, Xenophon, rising up, said, "Gentlemen! it seems we are under a necessity both of travelling by land, for we have no ships, and of marching away immediately; for if we stay, we shall want provisions. We therefore shall offer sacrifice; in the mean time, if, upon any other occasion you were prepared to fight, prepare yourselves for it now, for the enemy have resumed their courage. After this, the generals offered sacrifice in the presence of Arexion of Arcadia, the priest: for Silanus of Ambracia had hired a ship, and made his escape from Heraclea. But the victims they sacrificed concerning their departure were not favourable; so they staid there that day; and

some had the confidence to report, that Xenophon, being desirous to build a city there, had prevailed upon the priest to declare that the victims were not favourable to their departure. Upon this, Xenophon ordered a herald to publish that any one, who was willing, might be present at the sacrifice the next day, and that, if there was any priest among them, he should also attend, and assist in inspecting the victims; he offered sacrifice accordingly in the presence of great numbers; and, though victims were three times sacrificed concerning their departure, still they were not favourable. This gave the soldiers great concern; for the provisions they had brought with them were all consumed, and there was no market near.

Hereupon they re-assembled, and Xenophon said, "Gentlemen! the victims, you see, are not yet favourable to our departure; at the same time, I see you are in want of provisions; it is necessary, therefore, in my opinion, to offer sacrifice concerning this." Upon which one of the men, rising up, said, "It is with reason the victims do not favour our departure, for a ship coming in yesterday by accident, I was informed that Cleander, the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium, designed to come hither from thence with transports and galleys." Upon this they all concluded to stay for him. However, they could not avoid going out to get provisions, concerning which he again offered sacrifice three times, and still the victims were not favourable; the soldiers now came to Xenophon's tent, complaining they had no provisions, but he told them he would not lead them out, while the victims forbade it.

The next day he sacrificed again, and, it being a general concern, almost all the army crowded round the sacrifice: but the victims fell short. Still the generals did not think fit to lead out the army, however they called them together: and Xenophon said, "Possibly the enemy may be assembled in a body, and then we shall be under a necessity of fighting: if therefore we leave our baggage in the place of strength, and march out prepared to fight, it is possible the victims may be more favourable." The soldiers, hearing this, cried out it was to no purpose to lead them to the place he mentioned, but that they ought immediately to offer sacrifice. They had no victims left: so they bought some oxen out of a cart, and sacrificed them; and Xenophon begged of Cleanor the Arcadian, to shew an earnestness, if this sacrifice promised any thing. Notwithstanding this the victims were not favourable.

Here Neon, who had succeeded Cheirisophus, seeing the men oppressed with want, was desirous to gratify them, and having found out a man belonging to Heraclea, who said he was acquainted with some villages in the neighbourhood, where they might get provisions, ordered proclamation to be made that whoever was willing might go out to supply themselves, there being a guide ready to conduct them. Upon this two thousand men went out of the camp with javelins, leather bags, sacks, and other vessels. While they were in the villages dispersed in plunder, some horse, belonging to Pharnabazus, first fell upon them: these were come to the assistance of the Bithynians, designing, jointly with them, to hinder, if possible, the Greeks from pene-

trating into Phrygia. This body of horse killed no less than five hundred of the Greeks: the rest fled to a mountain.

The news of this defeat was brought to the camp by one of those who escaped. Xenophon, since the victims were not favourable that day, taking an ox out of one of the carts (for there were no other victims) sacrificed it, and then went out to their relief with all the men who were not above fifty years of age; and having brought off the rest, they returned to the camp. It was now near sun-set, and the Greeks ate their supper in great consternation; when, on a sudden, some Bithynians, coming up through the thickets, surprised the advanced guard, and killing some of them, pursued the rest to the camp; and the alarm being given, all the Greeks ran to their arms. But it was not thought adviseable to pursue the enemy, or leave their camp in the night; for the country was full of thickets; so they lay that night upon their arms, taking care effectually to reinforce their out-guards.

In this manner they passed the night. The next day as soon as it was light, the generals led them to the place of strength, and the army followed, with their arms and baggage, and before noon they had dug a trench quite across the neck of land that leads to the promontory, and fortified the whole length of it with pallisades, leaving three gates. In the meantime a ship arrived from Heraclea laden with barley-meal, cattle and wine. Xenophon rising early offered sacrifice concerning an expedition against the enemy, and the first victim was favoura-

ble. When the sacrifice was near an end, Arexion of Parrhasie, the priest, saw an eagle on the favourable side, and called out to Xenophon to lead on. After the men had passed the trench, they stood to their arms, and the generals ordered proclamation to be made, that the soldiers, as soon as they had dined, should march with their arms, leaving those who had care of the baggage and the slaves behind. All the rest went out except Neon; for it was thought most advisable to leave him to command those who remained in the camp; but when the captains and soldiers were about to leave them, they were ashamed to stay behind, while the rest marched out; so they left only those who were above five and forty years of age. These therefore staid in the camp, and the rest marched forward. Before they had gone fifteen stadia, they came to the dead bodies, and, ²⁸extending one of their wings upon a single line, where the first of them lay, they buried all those that fell within the line. After they had buried these as they marched along, they formed a line of the other wing, where the first of the bodies lay unburied, and in the same manner buried those that fell in their way; and when they came to the road that led from the villages where the dead bodies lay in heaps, they brought them all together, and buried them.

It being now past noon, they marched clear of the villages, and while the men were employed in taking whatever provisions they met with within reach of the line, on a sudden they discovered the enemy marching over some hills opposite to them. Their army was disposed in a line, and very

numerous both in horse and foot; for Spithridates and Rathines were there with the forces they had received from Pharnabazus. As soon as the enemy saw the Greeks, they halted at the distance of about fifteen stadia. Upon this, Arexion the Greek priest immediately offered sacrifice, and the very first victim was favourable. Then Xenophon said to the generals, "Gentlemen! it is my opinion that we ought to place some bodies of reserve behind the line of battle, to sustain it, if necessary, and that the enemy, when disordered, they may be received by these bodies of reserve, that will be fresh and in order." All this met with a general approbation. "Do you therefore," continues he, "advance against the enemy, that, now we have seen them, and been seen by them, we may not stand still; and I will form the bodies of reserve in the rear, in the manner you approve of, and follow you."

Upon this the generals advanced in silence; and Xenophon having separated from the main body the three hindmost ranks, consisting of about two hundred men each, placed one, commanded by Samolas of Achaia, behind the right wing, another, of which Pyrias of Arcadia had the command, behind the centre; and the third, commanded by Phrasias, an Athenian, behind the left wing: these had orders to follow the line of battle at the distance of about one hundred feet. As they marched on, those in the front coming to a valley ²⁹ that was large and difficult to pass, halted, not knowing whether it were passable or not, and an order was given for all the generals and captains to come up to the front. Xenophon wondered what should stop their march;

but as soon as he heard the order, he rode up in all haste. As soon as the officers were got together, Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, said it³⁰ was not adviseable to pass a valley of such difficulty; but Xenophon, answering with some earnestness, said,

“ You know, gentlemen ! that I never willingly sought dangers for you ; because I am sensible you want safety, more than glory ; but this is our present situation. It is not possible for us to go hence without fighting; for, if we do not engage the enemy, as soon as we offer to depart they will pursue us and fall upon us in our retreat. Consider therefore with yourselves, whether it is better for us to attack them with our arms to cover us, or to see them pursuing us when we are defenceless. You know also that there is no honour to be got by flying from an enemy, while even cowards gain courage by pursuing ; for which reason I had rather pursue with half the number of forces, than retreat with twice as many. Besides I am confident that you yourselves do not³¹ expect the enemy will stand if we attack them, but we are all sensible that if we retire, they will have courage enough to follow us. However, to be on the other side, with a difficult valley in our rear when we engage, is not that an advantage worth contending for ? May the³² enemy find every passage open to their flight ! whereas the situation of the place ought to instruct us that we can have no hope of safety but in victory. I wonder any one should think this valley more dreadful than so many other places we have passed through. Shall we not find this very place where we now are,

difficult to march over, if we do not overcome the horse? Will not the mountains we have traversed be difficult to repass with such numbers of targeteers at our heels? But admit even that we arrive at the sea coast in safety, how ³³large a valley is the Euxine Sea? where we shall neither find ships to transport us, or, if we stay there, provisions to subsist us. And if we make haste thither, we must haste abroad again to get provisions. We had better therefore fight now we have eaten something, than to-morrow, when we are fasting. Gentlemen! the sacrifices are favourable, the omens happy, and the victims assure us of success. Let us go on. Since the enemy have seen us all, they ought not to eat their supper with satisfaction, or encamp where they please."

Upon this the captains bid him lead on, and no one contradicted it: he therefore put himself at their head, and ordered every man to pass the valley in his rank, for he thought it would be more expeditious for the army to pass over in a body, than if they filed off over the bridge, that lay cross the valley. After they had passed it, Xenophon, coming up to the foremost ranks, said, "Remember, gentlemen! how many battles, with the assistance of the gods, you have gained, and what those are to expect who turn their backs upon the enemy. Consider also that we are at the gates of Greece. Follow Hercules your conductor, and exhort one another by name. There is a pleasure in reflecting, that whoever, upon this occasion, says or does any thing brave and glorious, will be remembered by those whose applause he is ambitious of."

This he said as he rode along the ranks : then put himself at the head of the line of battle, and, having placed the targeteers upon the wings, he marched against the enemy. He had also ordered the heavy-armed men to carry their pikes on their right shoulders, till the trumpet sounded ; then to present them, and move slowly on : and that none should run, when they pursued. Upon this the word was given, “ Jupiter the Preserver, and Hercules the Conductor.” The enemy, encouraged by the advantage of their post, stood their ground ; and, when our men drew near, the Greek targeteers shouted, and ran on before they were ordered. The enemy’s horse, with the body of Bithynians, advanced against them, and both together put the targeteers to flight : but, when the line of battle, consisting of the heavy-armed men, marched briskly up to meet them, and at the same time, the trumpet sounded, and the men sung ³⁴the pæan, then shouted, and presented their pikes, they no longer stood their ground, but fled. Timasion pursued them with the horse, and his men, being but few in number, killed as many of them as they could. The enemy’s left wing, which was opposite to the Greek horse, was presently dispersed : but the right, not being closely pursued, rallied upon a hill. As soon as the Greeks saw them make a stand, they thought the easiest and safest thing they could do, was to charge them immediately. Accordingly, they sung the pæan, and advanced directly : but the enemy did not stand : the targeteers pursued them till their right wing was also dispersed. However, few of them were killed, for the enemy’s horse being very numerous, kept

the Greeks in awe. When our men saw the body of horse belonging to Pharnabazus still unbroken, and the Bithynian horse flocking to them, and observing from a hill what was doing, though they were spent with labour, yet they resolved to charge them also, as well as they could, that they might give them no time to recover their spirit and breath. So they formed themselves, and marched against them. Upon this, the enemy's horse fled down the hill, with as much precipitation as if they had been pursued by horse: for there was a valley to receive them, which the Greeks knew nothing of, because, as it was late, they had given over the pursuit before they came to it. Then returning to the place, where the first action happened, they erected a trophy, and came back to the sea about sunset. For they had near sixty stadia to their camp.

After this, the enemy employed themselves in their own concerns, removing their families and ³⁵effects to the greatest distance they could. In the mean time, the Greeks waited for the arrival of Cleander, with the galleys and transports; and going out every day with their sumpter horses and slaves, they furnished themselves, in all security, with wheat, barley, wine, legumens, panic, and figs; for the country produced every thing but oil. While the army lay in their camp to refresh themselves, the men had liberty to go out for plunder; and upon those occasions, the booty was their own; but when the whole army went out, if any one straggled from the rest, and got any thing, they determined it should belong to the public. The camp now abounded in all things, for provisions came from

every side out of the Greek cities; and people, who sailed along the coast, being informed that a city was going to be built with a haven, willingly put in there: and those of the enemy, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent to Xenophon, hearing he had the conduct of the intended settlement, to know what they should do to deserve his friendship; and he shewed them to the soldiers. In the mean time, Cleander arrived with two galleys, but no transports. It happened, that when he came, the army was gone out to get provisions, and a party of stragglers, going up the mountain in search of plunder, took a great number of sheep; but being afraid they should be taken from them, they informed Dexippus of it, (the same who ran away with the fifty-oar galley from Trebisonde) and desired him to secure the sheep, agreeing that he should retain some of them for his pains, and restore the rest.

Immediately Dexippus drove away the soldiers who stood round them, and told him the sheep belonged to the public; then went to Cleander, and informed him that they endeavoured to take them away by force. Cleander ordered him to bring the man who attempted it before him. Upon that, Dexippus seized one of the men, and was carrying him away, when Agasias, meeting him, rescued the man; for he belonged to his company; and the rest of the soldiers who were present, threw stones at Dexippus, calling him traitor. This put not only him, but many of the men also, who belonged to the galleys, in fear, and made them fly to the sea; and Cleander himself was among those who fled. Hereupon, Xenophon, and the rest of the generals,

endeavoured to suppress the tumult, and told Cleander, that there was no danger, and that all this was occasioned by the standing order of the army. But Cleander, being inflamed by Dexippus, and himself nettled for having discovered so much fear, said he would sail away, and cause them to be proclaimed enemies, and that as such, none of the Greek cities should receive them: for the ³⁶Lacedæmonians were, at that time, the masters of all Greece.

The Greeks looked upon this as an affair of bad consequence, and begged of him not to do it; but he said it could not be otherwise, unless they delivered up the man who began throwing stones, together with the person who rescued him. This was Agasias, the constant friend of Xenophon; for which reason Dexippus had accused him. In this perplexity, the commanders called the army together, and some of them treated Cleander as a man of no importance; but Xenophon thought the affair of no small consequence, and rising up, said—

“Gentlemen, I look upon it as a matter of great moment, if Cleander goes away, as he threatens, in this disposition: for we are now in the neighbourhood of the Greek cities, and as the Lacedæmonians preside over Greece, every single Lacedæmonian can effect whatever he pleases in these cities. If, therefore, this man first shuts us out of Byzantium himself, then gives notice to the rest of the Lacedæmonian governors, not to receive us into their cities, as men refusing obedience to the Lacedæmonians, and absolutely ungovernable; this character of us will, at last, reach the ears of

Anaxibius, the admiral, and then it will be difficult for us either to stay where we are, or to sail away; for, at this time, the Lacedæmonians command both at sea and land. We ought not, therefore, for the sake of one or two men, to exclude ourselves from Greece, but to obey them in every thing; for the cities to which we belong, obey them. As to my own particular (for I hear Dexippus tells Cleander, that Agasias had never done this, if I had not given him orders), for my part, I say, I am ready to clear both you and Agasias of this accusation, if he will say that I was the author of any of these things, and to condemn myself, if I began throwing stones, or any other violence, to the last of punishments, and will submit to it. My advice also is, that, if Cleander should accuse any other person, he ought to surrender himself to him to be tried; by this means you will be free from censure. As things now stand, it will be hard, if we, who expect to meet with applause and honour in Greece, should, instead of that, not even be in the same condition with the rest of our countrymen, but be excluded from the Greek cities."

After this, Agasias rose up, and said—"Gentlemen, I call the gods and goddesses to witness, that neither Xenophon, nor any other person among you, ordered me to rescue the man; but seeing Dexippus (who you know has betrayed you) carrying away a brave man belonging to my company, I thought it was not to be borne, and own I rescued him. Think not of delivering me up, for I will surrender myself to Cleander, as Xenophon advises, to be tried by him, and used as he thinks fit. Let this be no cause

of war between you and the Lacedæmonians ; but let every man return with safety to whatever part of Greece he pleases. I only desire you will choose some of your own number, and send them with me, to Cleander, that, if I omit any thing, they may both speak and act in my behalf." Upon this, the army gave him leave to choose such persons as he thought proper to accompany him : and he chose the generals. Agasias, and the generals, accordingly went to Cleander, together with the man who had been rescued by Agasias ; and the generals spoke to Cleander in the following manner :

"The army has sent us to you, O Cleander, and desires, if you accuse them all, that you will yourself pass sentence upon them all, and treat them as you think fit : if one, or two, or more of them, they have thought proper these should surrender themselves to you, and submit to your judgment. If, therefore, you accuse any of us, here we are before you : if any other, let us know it ; for no man shall refuse to submit to your judgment, who will submit to our command." After this, Agasias, advancing, said, " I am the person, O Cleander, that rescued this man, whom Dexippus was carrying away, and that gave orders to our men to strike Dexippus ; for I knew the soldier to be a good man, and that Dexippus, who had been chosen by the army to command the galley we begged of the inhabitants of Trebisonde, in order to get ships together to transport us, had run away with the galley, and betrayed the soldiers, to whom he owed his preservation. Thus,

he is the cause not only of our having deprived the inhabitants of Trebisonde of their galley, but of our being looked upon as ill men, and, as far as it lay in his power, of our ruin ; for he had heard, as well as we, that if we went by land, it was impossible for us to pass the rivers, that lay in our way, and return to Greece. Such is the character of the person, from whom I rescued the man. If either you, or any one belonging to you, had been carrying him away, and not one of our own deserters, be assured that I should have attempted no such thing. Know then, that, if you put me to death, you will destroy a brave man, for the sake of a coward and a villain."

Cleander, hearing this, said, he could not approve of the conduct of Dexippus, if he had been guilty of these things ; " But," adds he, " in my opinion, though Dexippus were the worst of men, no violence should be offered to him, but that he ought to be tried (in the manner you yourselves propose), and punished, if guilty. As for you, leave Agasias with me, and depart ; and when I give you notice, be present at his trial. I neither accuse the army, nor any other person, since Agasias himself owns he rescued the man." Upon this, the soldier who had been rescued, said, " Though you seem to think, O Cleander, that I was apprehended as an offender, yet know, that I neither struck any one, or threw stones at any ; I only said the sheep belonged to the public : for the soldiers had made an order, that when the whole army went out, whatever booty was taken by any

particular person, should belong to the public. This was all I said, and for this, Dexippus seized me with a design to carry me away, that, every man's mouth being stopped, he might have his share of the booty, and secure the rest for his accomplices, contrary to the ³⁷standing order of the army." To this Cleander answered, "Since you are that kind of man, stay here, that we may consider what to do with you also."

After this Cleander and his company went to dinner; and Xenophon, assembling the army, advised them to send some persons to Cleander to intercede for the men. Hereupon they resolved to send the generals and captains, together with Dracontius, the Spartan, and other proper persons, to entreat Cleander, by all means, to release them. As soon as Xenophon came to him, he said, "The men you demanded, O Cleander! are in your hands, and the army makes you not only master of their fate, but of its own. However, they now conjure you to give up these two men to them, and not to put them to death; because upon all occasions, both of them have taken great pains to do service to the army. If they can prevail upon you in this, they promise you in return, if you think fit to be their general, and the gods are propitious, to let you see both how observant they are, and how incapable, while they obey their commander, and Heaven assists them, of fearing an enemy. They also beg of you, that when you are with them, and have taken upon you the command, you will make trial of Dexippus, and of themselves

and others, and then reward each according to his merit." Cleander hearing this, said, "By ³⁸Castor and Pollux, I will return you an answer immediately. I not only give you up the men, but will come to you myself; and if the gods are, in any degree, favourable, I will conduct you into Greece. Your discourse is very different from the reports I have heard of some of you, as if you were endeavouring to render the army disaffected to the Lacedæmonians."

After this, those who were sent by the army applauded him, and returned with the two men. Cleander offered sacrifice concerning the journey, and conversed in a friendly manner with Xenophon, and they two contracted an ³⁹intercourse of hospitality; and when he saw the obedience, and exact discipline of the army, he was still more desirous of commanding them: but after he had offered sacrifice for three days, and the victims were not favourable, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims will not allow me to conduct the army; but let not that discourage you, for it looks as if this was reserved for you. Go on, therefore; and when you are arrived at Byzantium, we will receive you in the best manner we are able."

Upon this, the soldiers thought proper to make him a present of the sheep that belonged to the public; these he accepted, and gave them to the army again, and then sailed away. The soldiers having ⁴⁰sold the corn they had brought with them, and the rest of the booty they had taken, marched on through Bithynia; and meeting nothing

in the direct road to carry with them into the territories of their friends, they resolved to march back one day and a night ; and having done so, they took great numbers both of slaves and cattle ; and after six days' march, arrived at ⁴¹ Chrysopolis, a town of Chalcedonia, and there they staid seven days, to sell their booty.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VII.

THE preceding discourse contains a relation of the actions of the Greeks performed during their expedition with Cyrus to the battle; of those they achieved after his death, during their retreat, till they came to the Euxine Sea; and of those they performed after their departure thence, both by sea and land, till they arrived at Chrysopolis, a city of Asia, situated without the mouth of that sea.

After this, Pharnabazus, fearing lest the Greeks should make an irruption into the country under his command, sent to Anaxibius, the admiral (who happened to be then at Byzantium), to desire he would transport the army out of Asia, with assurance, that, in return, he would do every thing that could reasonably be expected. Hereupon, Anaxibius sent for the generals and captains, to Byzantium; and promised, if the army came over, they should have pay. The rest of the officers told him they would consider of it, and let him know their resolution: but Xenophon said he proposed to leave the army, and wanted to sail away. However, Anaxibius desired he would come over with

the army, before he left it, which the other consented to.

In the mean time, Seuthes, the Thracian, sent Medosades to Xenophon, to desire he would let him have his assistance in prevailing upon the army to pass into Europe, assuring him he should have no reason to repent it. Xenophon said, "The army will certainly pass over: let him not, therefore, give any thing either to me, or to any other person, upon that account. As soon as it is transported, I shall depart; let him, therefore, apply to those who stay, and may be of service to him, in such a manner as he thinks fit."

After this, the whole army passed over to Byzantium; but Anaxibius gave them no pay: however, he published an order, that the soldiers should go out of the town, with their arms and baggage, as if he designed to dismiss them, and to take an account of their numbers at the same time. The soldiers were uneasy at this, because they had no money to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, and packed up their baggage with reluctance.

Xenophon, having before contracted an intercourse of hospitality with Cleander the Lacedæmonian governor, went to take his leave of him, designing to set sail immediately. But he said to him; "I desire you will not do it; if you do, you will be blamed, for you are already accused by some people as the cause of the army's creeping so slowly out of the town." Xenophon answered, "I am not the cause of this; but the soldiers, being in want of money to buy provisions, are for

that reason, of themselves, unwilling to leave the town." "However," says Cleander, "I advise you to go out with them, as if you designed to proceed; and, when the army is out of the town, to depart." "Let us go then," says Xenophon, "to Anaxibius, and settle it in this manner:" and coming to him, they informed him of what they had determined. He advised them to pursue it, and that the army should immediately go out with their baggage: at the same time he desired they would also give notice, that whoever absented himself from the review and muster, should incur their censure. Upon this the generals first, and, after them, the rest of the army went out of the town. They were now all out, except a few, and Eteonicus stood ready at the gates to shut and bolt them, as soon as they were all gone.

Anaxibius, therefore, calling together the generals and captains, said, "You may supply yourselves with provisions out of the Thracian villages, where there is great plenty of barley and wheat, and of all things necessary: as soon as you have furnished yourselves, go on to the ¹Chersonesus, where Cyniscus will give you pay." Some of the soldiers overheard this, or, possibly, one of the captains informed the army of it. In the mean time, the generals inquired concerning Seuthes, whether he were a friend, or an enemy; and whether they were to march over the holy mountain, or round through the middle of Thrace.

While they were engaged in this discourse, the soldiers snatched up their arms, and ran hastily to the gates, with a design to force their way back into

the town. But Eteonicus, with those about him, when they saw the heavy-armed men running to the gates, immediately shut, and bolted them. Upon this, the soldiers ²knocked at the gates, and complained they were treated with great injustice, in being shut out of the town, as a prey to the enemy; threatening to cut the gates asunder, if they would not open them. Some ran to the sea, and got over the ³mole into the town; and others, who happened to be within, observing what was doing at the gates, cleft the bars with hatchets, and set them open: upon this they all rushed in.

Xenophon, seeing what passed, and being afraid the army should fall to plundering, and, by that means, an irreparable mischief should be done, not only to the town, but to himself, and the soldiers, ran in all haste, and got within the gates, together with the crowd. As soon as the inhabitants saw the army break in, they fled out of the market, some hurrying to the ships, others to their houses; and those, who were within doors, ran out: some hauled down the galleys into the sea, in hopes of saving themselves in them: and all thought themselves undone, the town being taken. Upon this, Eteonicus fled to the citadel; and Anaxibius running down to the sea, sailed round to the same place, in a fisher-boat, and immediately sent for the garrison from Chalcedon: for he did not think that in the citadel sufficient for its defence.

As soon as the soldiers saw Xenophon, they crowded about him, and said, "You have now an opportunity, O Xenophon! of making yourself a

man. You are master of a town, of galleys, of money, and of so many people: you have now the power, if you think fit, of making us rich, and we that of making you considerable." "You say well," says Xenophon; "and I will follow your advice; if, therefore, this is your desire, place yourselves in your ranks immediately, and handle your arms. He gave these orders with a design to quiet them, and, for the same reason, directed the rest of the officers to give orders that their men also should stand to their arms. The soldiers drew up of their own accord, the heavy-armed men presently forming themselves into a body of fifty deep, and the targeteers repairing to each of the wings. The place where they stood was called the Thracian square, and being free from houses, and even, was very proper for a parade. When they all stood armed in their ranks, and their minds were appeased, Xenophon addressed himself to the assembly, in the following manner.

"Gentlemen! I am not at all surprised at your resentment, and that you look upon yourselves as very ill used, by being imposed on. But if we indulge our anger, and not only take revenge of the Lacedæmonians, who are present, for this imposition, but plunder the city, that is, in no degree, guilty, consider what will be the consequence: we shall, from that moment, be the declared enemies both of the Lacedæmonians, and of their allies; and of what nature this war will be, may be easily guessed, by those who have seen and call to mind what has happened of late years. For, when we Athenians entered upon the war with the Lacedæ-

monians, and their allies, we had a fleet of no less than four hundred galleys, some of which were at sea, and others in ⁵the docks: we had a great sum of money in the treasury, and an annual revenue payable both by the citizens, and foreigners, of no less than ⁶one thousand talents: we had the command of all the islands; we were possessed of many cities both in Asia and Europe, and even of Byzantium, where we now are: yet, with all these advantages, we were overcome by them, as you all know. What then have we now to expect, when the Lacedæmonians and the Achaïans are united, and the Athenians, with those who were then in alliance with them, are all become an accession to their power: when ⁷Tissaphernes, and all the rest of the Barbarians, who inhabit the sea-coast, are our enemies, and the king of Persia himself the most inveterate of all, against whom we have made war with a design to deprive him of his kingdom, and, if possible, of his life too? When all these join their forces, is there any one so void of sense, as to flatter himself that we shall prove superior to them? For Heaven's sake, gentlemen! let us not go mad, and perish with dishonour, by becoming the proclaimed enemies to our fathers, our friends, and our relations! For these all live in the cities that will make war upon us: and not without reason; if, having declined to possess ourselves of any town belonging to the Barbarians, whom we vanquished, we should plunder the first Greek city we arrive at. For my part, I wish, before I see you guilty of such things, I may be buried ten thousand fathom deep: and would advise you, as you are

Greeks, to endeavour, by our obedience to the masters of Greece, to obtain justice. But if your endeavours should prove ineffectual, we ought not, however, though wronged, to deprive ourselves of all possibility of returning home. My opinion, therefore, now is, that we should send some persons to Anaxibius, to acquaint him, that we did not come into the town with a design to commit violence, but, if possible, to obtain favour; and, if we fail in this, to let him see that we are ready to leave it again, not because we are imposed upon, but because we are willing to obey."

This was resolved upon: so they sent Hieronymus of Elis, Eurylochus of Arcadia, and Philesius of Achaia to him, with these instructions. While the soldiers were yet assembled, Cyratades, a Theban, came to them. This man was not banished from Greece, but wandered about, from an ambition to command armies, offering himself to any city, or nation, that had occasion for a general. He told them, he was ready to conduct them to that part of Thrace, called the ⁸ Delta, where they should make their fortunes, and that, till they arrived there, he would supply them with meat and drink in plenty. While he was saying this, the soldiers received an answer from Anaxibius, who assured them they should have no cause to repent of obeying him; that he would give an account of this to the magistrates of Sparta, and would, himself, consider in what he could be of most service to them. Upon this, they accepted Cyratades for their general, and went out of the town. And Cyratades appointed to come the next day to the army, with

victims, and a priest, and also meat and drink for the men. As soon as they were out of the town, Anaxibius caused the gates to be shut, and public notice to be given, that, if any of the soldiers were found within the walls, they should be sold for slaves. The next day, Cyratades came to the army with the victims, and the priest: he was followed by twenty men loaded with barley-meal, and as many with wine; three more brought as many olives, another as much garlick, and a third as many onions as he could carry; and having ordered these things to be set down, as if he intended to divide them among the troops, he offered sacrifice.

Here Xenophon sent for Cleander, and desired him to procure liberty for him to go into the town, and embark at Byzantium. When Cleander came, he said, "It is with great difficulty that I have prevailed; for Anaxibius says it is not proper that the soldiers should be near the town, and Xenophon within; the inhabitants being engaged in factions and animosities: however, he says, you may come in, if you propose to sail with him." Upon which, Xenophon took leave of the soldiers, and went into the town with Cleander.

The victims not being favourable to Cyratades, the first day he distributed nothing to the soldiers. The next, both the victims and Cyratades, with a garland upon his head, preparing to offer sacrifice, stood before the altar, when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinian, and Cleanor the Orcho-menian, came to Cyratades, and forbade him to offer sacrifice, adding, that unless he gave the provisions to the army, he should not command it.

Upon this, he ordered them to be distributed ; but the provisions falling considerably short of one day's subsistence for every man, he renounced the generalship, and, taking the victims, departed.

Hereupon Neon the Asinian, Phryniscus of Achaia, and Timasion of Dardanus, who staid with the army, led them into some villages of the Thracians, that lay near Byzantium, where they encamped. Here the generals disagreed, Cleanor and Phryniscus being desirous to carry the army to Seuthes (for he had gained them, by making a present of a horse to one, and of a woman to the other), and Neon, to the Chersonesus, upon this presumption, that, if they came into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians, he should have the sole command. Timasion wanted to go back into Asia, expecting, by this means, to return home. The soldiers were for this ; but much time being spent in this contest, many of the soldiers sold their arms in the country, and sailed away as they could ; others gave them to the country people, and settled in the cities, mingling with the inhabitants. Anaxibius was pleased to hear the army was disbanding, for he concluded this would be most acceptable to Pharnabazus.

While ¹⁰Anaxibius was upon his voyage from Byzantium, Aristarchus met him at Cyzicus. He was sent to succeed Cleander, as governor of Byzantium. He informed Anaxibius, that Polus was upon the point of coming into the Hellespont, to succeed him in the command of the fleet ; and Anaxibius ordered Aristarchus to sell all the soldiers of Cyrus, whom he found in Byzantium. As for Cleander, he had sold none of them, but, out of

compassion, took care of those who were sick, and obliged the inhabitants to receive them into their houses; but Aristarchus, as soon as he arrived, sold no less than four hundred of them. When Anaxibius came to ¹¹Parium, he sent to Pharnabazus in pursuance of their agreement; but he, finding that Aristarchus was going to Byzantium, in quality of governor, and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, neglected him, and made the same terms with Aristarchus, concerning the army of Cyrus, that he had before made with Anaxibius.

Upon this, Anaxibius, calling Xenophon to him, desired by all means that he would set sail for the army immediately, and both keep them in a body, and draw together as many as he could of those who were dispersed; then leading them to ¹²Perinthus, transport them forthwith into Asia. He ordered, at the same time, a thirty-oar galley to attend him, and not only gave him a letter, but sent an express with him, to let the Perinthians know that they were immediately to furnish Xenophon with horses to carry him to the army. Xenophon crossed the Propontis, and arrived at the army. He was received by the soldiers with great joy, who followed him cheerfully, in hopes of passing over from Thrace into Asia.

¹³Seuthes, hearing that Xenophon was returned, sent Medosades to him by sea, to desire he would bring the army to him, promising whatever he thought most effectual to persuade him. Xenophon answered, "that it was not possible for any thing of this kind to be done:" whereupon the other went away. When the Greeks came to Perinthus, Neon

drew off his forces, and encamped apart with about eight hundred men ; the rest remained together under the walls of the town.

After this, Xenophon was employed in getting ships to transport the troops into Asia ; when Aristarchus the governor, arriving from Byzantium with two galleys, at the desire of Pharnabazus, forbade the masters of the ships to transport them ; and, going to the army, commanded the soldiers not to go over into Asia. Xenophon told him that Anaxibius had ordered it, “ and,” says he, “ he sent me hither for that purpose.” Upon which Aristarchus replied, “ Anaxibius is not admiral, and I am governor here ; and if I take any of you attempting to go over, I’ll throw them into the sea.” Having said this, he went into the town. The next day, he sent for the generals and captains ; and, when they came near the walls, Xenophon had notice given him, that, if he went into the town, he should be apprehended, and either suffer some punishment there, or be delivered even to Pharnabazus. When he heard this, he sent them on before, saying, “ he had a mind to offer sacrifice ;” and returning, he sacrificed, in order to know whether the gods would allow him to endeavour to carry the army to Seuthes : for he saw, that it was neither safe to pass over into Asia, since the person who would oppose it had galleys at his command ; neither was he willing to shut himself up in the Chersonesus, and expose the army to a general scarcity, where, besides the want of provisions, they would be under a necessity of obeying the governor of the place.

While Xenophon was thus employed, the generals and captains came from Aristarchus, and brought word that he had sent them away for the present, but had ordered them to come back to him in the evening. This made the treachery still more manifest: Xenophon therefore, finding the sacrifices promised security both to himself and the army, in going to Seuthes took with him Polycrates the Athenian, one of the captains, and from each of the generals, except Neon, a person in whom they confided; and went that night to the army of Seuthes, which lay at the distance of sixty stadia. When they drew near to it, he found several fires, but nobody near them, which made him at first conclude that Seuthes had decamped; but, hearing a noise, and the men calling out to one another, he understood that Seuthes had, for this reason, ordered fires to be made before his night-guards, that they, being in the dark, might not be seen, neither might it be known where they were; while those, who approached the camp, could not be concealed, but were discovered by the light. Observing this, he sent the interpreter, whom he happened to have with him, and ordered him to acquaint Seuthes that Xenophon was there, and desired a conference with him. They asked whether it was Xenophon the Athenian, one of the army; and, upon his saying it was he, they returned with great alacrity, and presently after, about two hundred targeteers appeared, who conducted Xenophon and his company to Seuthes. They found him in a ¹⁴castle very much upon his guard, and, round the castle, stood horses ready bridled: for, living in continual fear, he fed

his horses in the day-time, and stood upon his guard all night. It was reported that formerly, ¹⁵Teres, the ancestor of this man, having entered this country with a considerable army, lost great numbers of his men, and was stripped of his baggage by the inhabitants: they are called Thynians, and, of all people, are said to be the most dangerous enemies in the night.

When they were near the castle, Seuthes ordered Xenophon to come in with any two of his company: as soon as they were entered, they first saluted each other, and, according to the Thracian custom, drank to one another in horns full of wine, (Medosades being present, who was the ambassador of Seuthes upon all occasions,) then Xenophon began to speak; "You sent Medosades to me, O Seuthes! first to Chalcedon, to desire I would co-operate with you in getting the army transported out of Asia; and promised, if I effected it, to return the obligation, as Medosades informed me." Having said this, he asked Medosades if it was true, who owned it. Then Xenophon went on, "After I arrived at the army from Parium, Medosades came to me again, and assured me, if I brought the army to you, that you would not only treat me as a friend, and a brother, in other respects, but that you would deliver up to me those maritime towns, of which you are in possession." After this, he again asked Medosades if he said so, who owned that also. "Then," said Xenophon, "let Seuthes know the answer I made to you at Chalcedon." "You answered first that the army had resolved to go over to Byzantium, and, therefore, there was no reason to give any

thing, either to you, or to any other person, upon that account: you added that, as soon as you had crossed the sea, you designed to leave the army, which happened accordingly." "What," says Xenophon, "did I say when you came to ¹⁶Selymbria?" "You said that what I proposed was impracticable, because the army had determined to go to Perinthus, in order to pass over into Asia." "Here I am then," said Xenophon, "with Phryniscus, one of the generals, and Polycrates, one of the captains; and, without, are those who are most confided in by each of the generals, except Neon, the Lacedæmonian: and, if you desire that our stipulation should receive a greater sanction, let them also be called in. Do you, therefore, Polycrates! go to them, and tell them, from me, that I desire they would leave their arms without, and do you leave your sword there also, and come in."

Seuthes, hearing this, said, he should distrust no Athenian; for he knew them to be ¹⁷related to him, and looked upon them as his affectionate friends. When all proper persons were come in, first Xenophon asked Seuthes what use he proposed to make of the army? To this he answered: "Mæsadès was my father, under whose government were the Malandèptans, the Thynians, and the Thranipsans. My father, being driven out of this country, when the affairs of the Odrysians declined, died of sickness, and I, being then an orphan, was brought up at the court of Medocus, the present king. When I grew up, I could not bear to subsist upon another man's liberality. As I was sitting,

therefore, by him, I begged of him to give me as many troops as he could spare, that, if possible, I might take revenge on those who had expelled our family, and be no longer, like a dog, supported at his table. Upon this, he gave me those forces, both of horse and of foot, which you shall see, as soon as it is day; and I now subsist by plundering my paternal country with these troops: to which if you join your forces, I have reason to believe, that, with the assistance of the gods, I shall easily recover my kingdom. This is what I desire at your hands."

"Let us know then," says Xenophon, "what you have in your power to give to the army, the captains, and the generals, if we come; to the end that these may make their report." He promised to every common soldier a cyzicene, two to the captains, and four to the generals; with as much land as they desired, besides yokes of oxen, and a walled town near the sea. "If," says Xenophon, "I endeavour to effect what you desire, but am prevented by the fear that may be entertained of the Lacedæmonians, will you receive into your country any who shall be desirous to come to you?" He answered, "Not only that, but I will treat them like brothers, give them a place at my table, and make them partakers of every thing we shall conquer: to you, Xenophon! I will give my daughter, and if you have one, I will buy her, according to the Thracian custom, and give you Bisanthe for your habitation, which is the handsomest town belonging to me near the sea."

After they heard this, they exchanged hands, and

went away ; and arriving at the camp before day, each of them made his report to those who sent them. As soon as it was light, Aristarchus sent again for the generals and captains to come to him, but they declined it, and determined, instead of going to Aristarchus, to call the army together : and all the soldiers assembled, besides those belonging to Neon ; who encamped at the distance of about ten stadia from the rest. When they were assembled, Xenophon rose up, and spoke as follows :

“Gentlemen ! Aristarchus, with his galleys, hinders us from sailing to the place we proposed ; so that it is not safe for us to embark. He would have us force our way over the holy mountain, into the Chersonesus. If we gain that pass, and arrive there, he says he will neither sell any more of you, as he did in Byzantium, nor deceive you any longer ; but that you will then be the better intitled to receive pay. He promises also that he will no longer suffer us, as he does now, to want provisions. Thus Aristarchus says. On the other side, Seuthes engages that, if you go to him, you shall find your account in it. Consider, therefore, whether you will deliberate upon this matter, while you stay here, or after you are returned to the place, where you may supply yourselves with provisions. My opinion is, since we have neither money to purchase what we want, nor are suffered to supply ourselves without it, that we return to the villages, where the inhabitants, being weaker than we are, do not oppose it ; and where, after we are supplied with what is necessary, and have heard in what service each of them propose to employ us, we may choose

that measure which shall appear most to our advantage. Whoever, therefore, is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands. "Go then," continued he, "and get your baggage ready, and, when the order is given, follow your leader."

After this, Xenophon put himself at their head, and they followed him. But Neon, together with some other persons sent by Aristarchus, would have persuaded them to turn back: however, they regarded them not. When they had marched about thirty stadia, Seuthes met them. As soon as Xenophon saw him, he desired he would draw near, that as many of the army as possible might hear what he had to propose for their advantage. When he came up, Xenophon said, "We are marching to some place where the army may find provisions, and where, after we have heard what you and the Lacedæmonians have to propose to us, we shall be determined by that which appears most to our advantage. If, therefore, you will conduct us to some place where there is great abundance, we shall look upon ourselves under the same obligation to you as if you entertained us yourself." Seuthes answered, "I know where there are many villages that lie together, and are well supplied with all sorts of provisions; they are so near that you may march thither, with ease, before dinner." "Lead the way, therefore," said Xenophon. The army being arrived in the villages in the ¹⁸afternoon, the soldiers assembled, and Seuthes spoke to them in the following manner: "Gentlemen! I desire you will assist me with your arms; and I promise to

each of you a ¹⁹cyzicene for your monthly pay, and to the captains and generals, what is customary. Besides this, I will do honour to every man, who shall deserve it. As to meat and drink, you shall supply yourselves with both, as you do now, out of the country. But, I must insist upon retaining the booty; that, by selling it, I may provide for your pay. We ourselves shall be sufficient to pursue and discover those of the enemy who fly, and seek to conceal themselves, and, with your assistance, we will endeavour to overcome those who resist." Xenophon then asked him, "how far from the sea he proposed the army should follow him?" He answered, "never more than seven days march, and often less."

After that, every man who desired to offer any thing, had liberty to speak, and several of them agreed that the proposals of Seuthes were very advantageous; for, it being now winter, it was neither possible for those who desired it, to sail home, nor for the army to subsist in the territories of their friends, if they were to pay for every thing they had. They considered also that it would be safer for them to remain, and find subsistence in an enemy's country, jointly with Seuthes, than by themselves; and that, if, while they were in possession of so many advantages, they also received pay, it would be a piece of good fortune they had no reason to expect. Then Xenophon said, "If any one has any thing to say against this, let him speak: if not, ²⁰let him give his vote for it:" and, there being no opposition, they gave their votes for it, and it was resolved accordingly; and Xenophon

immediately told Seuthes, "they would enter into his service."

After that, the soldiers encamped in their ranks; while the generals and captains were invited by Seuthes to sup with him at his quarters in a neighbouring village. When they came to the door, one Heraclides of Maronea addressed himself to those he thought in a capacity of making presents to Seuthes, and first to some Parian deputies, who were there, being sent to establish a friendship with Medocus, king of the Odrysians, and had brought presents both for him and his queen: to these he said, "that Medocus lived up in the country, twelve days journey from the sea; and that Seuthes, now he had taken this army into his service, would be master of the sea-coast: being therefore your neighbour," says he, "it will be very much in his power to do you both good and harm: so that if you are wise, you will make a present to him of what you have brought, which will be laid out much more to your advantage than if you give it to Medocus, who lives at so great a distance from you:" by this means, he prevailed upon them. Afterwards, he came to Timasion of Dardanus, hearing he had cups, and ²¹ Persian carpets, and told him it was the custom for those who were invited to supper by Seuthes, to make him presents; adding, "that if he becomes considerable in this country, he will be able both to restore you to yours, and to enrich you when you are there." In this manner, he ²² procured for Seuthes, addressing himself to each of them. When he came to Xenophon, he said, "You are not only of the most considerable city,

but are yourself in the greatest reputation with Seuthes, and may possibly desire to be master of some place of strength with lands, in these parts, as others of your countrymen are : it is therefore worth your while to honour Seuthes in the most magnificent manner. I give you this advice, because I wish you well ; for I am satisfied the more your presents exceed those of your companions, the more the advantages you will receive from Seuthes will exceed theirs." When Xenophon heard this, he was in great perplexity ; for he had brought with him, from Parium, only one servant, and just money enough for his journey.

Then the most considerable of the Thracians who were present, together with the Greek generals and captains, and all the deputies of towns who were there, went in to supper ; at which they placed themselves in a ring. After that, every one of the guests had a tripod brought him : these were about twenty in number, full of meat cut in pieces, and large leavened loaves were skewered to the meat. The ²³ dishes were always placed before the strangers preferably to the rest of the company ; for that was their custom. Seuthes then set the example of what follows ; he took the loaves that lay before him, and breaking them into small pieces, threw them about to those he thought proper : he did the same by the meat, leaving no more for himself than what served for a taste. The rest, before whom the meat was served, did the same thing. There was an Arcadian in company, whose name was Aristus, a great eater : this man, instead of employing his time in throwing about the victuals, took a

loaf of three ²⁴ chœnixes in his hand, and laying some meat upon his knees, ate his supper. In the mean time, they carried about horns of wine, and every body took one. When the cup-bearer brought the horn to Aristus, he seeing Xenophon had done supper, said, "Go, give it to him: he is at leisure; I am not so yet." When Seuthes heard him speak, he asked the cup-bearer what he said, who told him; for he could speak Greek: upon this, there was great laughing.

The ²⁵ cup going round, a Thracian entered, leading in a white horse, and taking a horn full of wine, "Seuthes!" says he, "I drink to you, and make you a present of this horse, with which you may take any one you pursue, and in a retreat, you will have no reason to fear the enemy." Another brought a boy, which he, in the same manner, presented, drinking to him, and another, clothes, for his wife. Timasion, drinking to him, made him a present of a silver cup, and a carpet worth ten ²⁶ mines. Then one Gnesippus, an Athenian, rose up, and said, "There was a very good old custom, which ordains that those who have any thing, shall make presents to the king, to shew their respect; but that the kings shall make presents to those who have nothing. Let this custom be observed," says he, "that I also may have something to present you with, and shew my respect." Xenophon was at a loss what to do; for he had the honour done him to be placed next to Seuthes: and Heraclides had ordered the cup-bearer to give him the horn. However, he stood up boldly, (for by this time he had drank ²⁷ more than usual) and taking the horn,

said, "O Seuthes! I present you both with myself and with these my companions, as your faithful friends! I am confident none of them will refuse the condition, but all contend with me in their zeal for your service. Here they now are, with a view of asking no other favour²⁸ of you, but to undertake labours and dangers for your sake. By whose assistance, if the gods are favourable, you may become master of a large tract of country, by recovering that part of it which belonged to your paternal kingdom, and conquering the rest: by their assistance, also, you will make yourself master of many horses, and of many men and beautiful women, whom you need not take away by force; on the contrary, they will come, and offer themselves to you, with presents in their hands." Upon this, Seuthes got up, and pledged Xenophon, pouring²⁹ what remained in the horn upon the person who sat next to him. After this, some Cerasuntæans came in: these sounded a charge with pipes, and trumpets made of raw hides, keeping time, as if they played upon the³⁰ magade. Upon this, Seuthes himself got up, and shouted in a warlike manner, then, with great agility, sprung out of the place where he stood, imitating a man who avoids a dart. There came in also buffoons.

When it was about sun-set, the Greeks rose up, and said it was time to place the guards for the night, and give the word. At the same time, they desired Seuthes to give orders that none of the Thracians might come into the Greek camp in the night; for, said they, some of that nation are our enemies, though you are our friends. As they went

out Seuthes got up, shewing no signs of being drunk, and going out also, he called the generals to him, and said; "Gentlemen! the enemy, as yet, knows nothing of our alliance; if, therefore, we fall upon them before they are either upon their guard against a surprise, or prepared for their defence, it will be the most effectual means of gaining great booty, and taking many prisoners. The generals were of the same opinion, and desired him to lead them. Then Seuthes said, "Do you make yourselves ready, and stay for me, and, when it is time, I will come back to you; and, taking the targeteers and you with me, with the assistance of the gods, I will lead you against the enemy." Upon this, Xenophon said, "Consider then, since we are to march by night, whether the Greek custom is not preferable. In the day-time, either the heavy-armed men, or the horse march in the van, according to the nature of the ground; but, in the night, it is always the custom, among the Greeks, for the slowest corps to lead the way. By this means, the army is less subject to be separated, and the men have fewer opportunities of straggling without being taken notice of; it often happening, in the night, that the troops, when separated, fall upon one another, and, not being able to distinguish friends from enemies, both do, and suffer great damage." Seuthes answered, "You say well, and I will conform to your custom; and will take care you shall have guides, such as, among the oldest of my people, are best acquainted with the country; while I bring up the rear with the horse: and if there is occasion, I can soon come up to the front." The Athenians

gave the word by reason of their alliance to Seuthes. After this, they went to rest.

When it was about mid-night, Seuthes came to them with the horse clad in their coats of mail, and the targeteers with their arms. After he had delivered the guides to them, the heavy-armed men marched in the van, the targeteers followed, and the horse brought up the rear. As soon as it was day, Seuthes, riding up to the front, extolled the Greek custom: "For it has often happened to me," says he, "when I have been upon a march in the night, though with a few troops, to have my horse separated from the foot; whereas now, at break of day, we appear, as we ought, altogether. But do you halt here, and repose yourselves, and when I have taken a view of the country, I will come back to you." Having said this, he met with a path, which led him to the top of a mountain, where, coming to a great deal of snow, he examined the road, to see whether there were any foot-steps of men, pointing either forward or backward: and finding the way untrodden, he returned presently, and said, Gentlemen! our design will succeed, God willing: we shall surprise the people: but I will lead the way with the horse, that, if we discover any one, he may not escape, and give notice to the enemy: do you come after; and, if you are left behind, follow the track of the horse. After we have passed these mountains, we shall come to a great many rich villages."

When it was noon, Seuthes, having reached the summit of the mountains, and taken a view of the villages, rode back to the heavy-armed men, and

said, "I now propose to send the horse to scour the plain, and the targeteers to attack the villages: do you follow as fast as you can, that, if they find any resistance you may support them." When Xenophon heard this, he alighted from his horse: upon which Seuthes said, "Why do you alight, when expedition is required?" The other answered, "I know that, by myself, I can be of no service; besides, the heavy-armed men will march with greater speed and alacrity, if I lead them on foot."

After this, Seuthes, and, with him, Timasion, with about forty of the Greek horse, went away. Then Xenophon ordered those of each company, who were under 30 years of age, and prepared for expedition, to advance; and, with these, he ran forward; while Cleanor brought up the rest of the Greeks. When they were in the villages, Seuthes, riding up to Xenophon with about 50 horse, said, "What you foretold, has happened: the men are taken; but our horse have left me, and are gone away without a commander, some following the pursuit one way, some another; and I am afraid the enemy should rally, and do us some mischief: some of us must also remain in the villages, for they are full of men." Xenophon answered, "With the troops I have, I will possess myself of the eminences. Do you order Cleanor to extend his line, in the plain, against the villages." After they had put these things in execution, they got together about 1000 slaves, 2000 oxen, and 10,000 head of other cattle: and there they quartered that night.

The next day, after Seuthes had burned all the villages, without leaving a single house (in order to

terrify the rest by letting them see what they were to expect, if they refused to submit) he returned, and sent the booty to Perinthus to be sold by Heraclides, that he might, by that means, raise money to pay the soldiers. In the mean time, Seuthes and the Greeks encamped in the plain of the Thynians; but the inhabitants left their houses, and fled to the mountains.

Here fell a great snow, and the cold was so severe, that the water the servants brought in for supper, and the wine in the vessels, were frozen, and the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were parched with the cold. This explained to us the reason that induces the Thracians to wear ³¹ foxes' skins over their heads and ears, and vests, that not only cover their breasts, but their thighs also, with cassocks reaching down to their feet, when they ride, instead of cloaks. Seuthes sent some of the prisoners to the mountains, to acquaint the inhabitants that, if they did not come down, and, returning to their habitations, submit to him, he would burn their villages also, together with their corn, and then they must perish with hunger. Upon this, the women and children, with the old men, came down, but the younger sort encamped in the villages under the mountain: which when Seuthes observed, he desired Xenophon to take with him the youngest of the heavy-armed men, and follow him; and, leaving their camp in the night, they arrived by break of day at the villages: but the greatest part of the inhabitants quitted them; for the mountain was near. However, Seuthes ordered all they took to be pierced with darts.

There was present an Olynthian, his name Episthenes, who was a lover of boys : this man, seeing a handsome boy just in his bloom, with a buckler in his hand, going to be put to death, ran to Xenophon, and begged of him to intercede for so beautiful a youth. Upon this, Xenophon went to Seuthes, and desired he would not put the boy to death, acquainting him, at the same time, with the character of Episthenes, and that he once raised a company, in which he considered nothing but the beauty of his men ; at the head of whom he always behaved himself with bravery. Hereupon, Seuthes said, “ O Episthenes, are you willing to die for this boy ? ” The other, stretching out his neck, answered, “ Strike, if the boy commands, and will think himself obliged to me. ” Seuthes then asked the boy whether he should strike Episthenes instead of him. This the boy would not suffer, but begged he would kill neither. Upon this, Episthenes, embracing the boy, said, “ Now, Seuthes ! you must contend with me for him ; for I will not part with the boy. ” This made Seuthes laugh ; who, leaving this subject, thought proper they should encamp where they were, to the end the people, who had fled to the mountains, might not be subsisted out of these villages. So he, descending a little way into the plain, encamped there ; and Xenophon, with the chosen men, quartered in the village that lay nearest the foot of the hill, and the rest of the Greeks, not far from him, among those they call the Mountain Thracians.

A few days after, the Thracians, coming down from the mountains to Seuthes, treated concerning hostages and a peace. Hereupon, Xenophon went

to him, and let him know that the post they were in was very disadvantageous, that the enemy was not far off, and that he had rather encamp abroad in any other place, than in a strait, where they were in danger of being destroyed: but Seuthes bid him fear nothing, and shewed him their hostages, then in his custody. Some of the Thracians, coming down from the mountain, besought Xenophon also to assist them in obtaining a peace. He promised his assistance, and encouraged them with this assurance, that, if they submitted to Seuthes, they had nothing to fear. But they, it seems, were spies sent to amuse them with these proposals.

This passed in the day-time: the following night, the Thynians came down from the mountain, and attacked them: their leaders were the masters of every house, it being difficult for any other to find the houses in the dark; because they were surrounded with great palisades to secure the cattle. When they came to the door of each habitation, some threw in darts, others clubs, which they carried, with a design, as they said, of breaking off the points of the pikes; and some were employed in setting fire to the houses: these called out to Xenophon by name, to come out and meet his fate, threatening, if he refused, to burn him in the house.

By this time, the fire came through the roof, and Xenophon and his men were within, with their corslets on, their shields, and swords in their hands, and their helmets upon their heads: when Silanus Macestius, a youth of eighteen years of age, gave the signal by sounding a trumpet: upon which, the rest also, at once, rushed out of the other houses

with their swords drawn. Whereupon, the Thracians fled, covering their backs with their bucklers, according to their custom; and some of them, endeavouring to leap over the palisades, were taken hanging on them, their bucklers being set fast; others, missing the way out, were killed; and the Greeks pursued them out of the village. However, a party of the Thynians coming back in the dark, threw darts at some of the Greeks, as they ran by a house that was on fire, taking their aim from an obscure place at those who were in the light, and wounded Hieronymus, Enodias, and Theagenes, a Locrian, all captains; but nobody was killed, though some had their clothes and baggage burned. Seuthes came to their relief with seven horse, the first he met, bringing with him a Thracian trumpeter, who, from the time the other found they were attacked, and set out to relieve them, continued sounding till the action was over; which did not a little contribute to terrify the enemy: when he came, he embraced the Greeks, saying, he expected to find a great number of them slain.

After this, Xenophon desired Seuthes to deliver to him the hostages, and march up to the mountain with him, if he thought proper: if not, that he would leave it to his conduct. The next day, therefore, Seuthes delivered to him the hostages, who were elderly men, the most considerable, as they said, of the Mountain Thracians, and he himself set out with his own forces. By this time, the army of Seuthes was increased to three times the number it before consisted of; for many of the Odrysians, being informed of what Seuthes was doing, came

down to his assistance. When the Thynians saw, from the mountain, great numbers of heavy-armed men, of targeteers, and of horse, they came down, and sued for peace; promising to do every thing that was required of them, and desired Seuthes would take pledges for their fidelity. He, calling Xenophon to him, informed him of what they said, letting him know, at the same time, that he would not make peace, if he desired to take revenge of them for attacking him. Xenophon answered, that he was sufficiently revenged, if these people were, instead of free-men, to become slaves: but, withal, advised him, for the future, to take for hostages those who had most power to do him harm, and to let the old men stay at home. All the Thracians, therefore, in this part of the country, submitted to Seuthes.

They next marched into the country, called the Delta, belonging to the Thracians, who lie above Byzantium. This country did not belong to the kingdom of Mæsadès, but to that of Teres, the Odrysian, one of their ancient kings: here they found Heraclides, with the money he had raised by the sale of the booty. And here Seuthes, having ordered three yokes of mules (for there were no more) and several of oxen to be brought out, sent for Xenophon, and desired he would accept the first, and distribute the rest among the generals and captains; but Xenophon said, “I shall be satisfied, if I, receiving your favours another time, give these to the generals and the captains, who, with me, have attended you in this expedition.” Upon which, Timasion, the Dardanian, received one yoke of

mules, Cleanor, the Orchomenian; another, and Phryniscus, the Achaian, the third. The yokes of oxen he distributed among the captains; but gave the army no more than twenty days' pay, though the month was expired; for Heraclides said he could not sell the booty for more. Xenophon was concerned at this, and said, "O Heraclides! you do not seem to have so great a regard for Seuthes, as you ought to have: if you had, you would have brought the army their full pay; though you had taken up at interest, and even sold your own clothes, to raise as much as would have completed it, if you could not get the money by any other means."

This reproach gave Heraclides great uneasiness, and made him apprehend he should lose the favour of Seuthes; and, from that day, he laboured all he could to give Seuthes ill impressions of Xenophon; on whom not only the soldiers laid the blame of their not receiving their pay, but Seuthes also resented his earnestness in demanding it. And whereas, before, he was for ever telling him, that when he arrived at the sea, he would put him in possession of ³²Bisanthe, Ganus, and Neon Teichus; from this time, he never mentioned any thing of that kind: for Heraclides, upon this occasion, had also recourse to calumny, suggesting that it was not safe to entrust places of strength with a person who was at the head of an army.

Upon this, Xenophon considered with himself what was to be done ³³about pursuing their expedition against the upper Thracians; when Heraclides, carrying the rest of the generals to Seuthes,

desired them to assure him that they could lead the army as well as Xenophon, and promised, that in a few days he would give them their pay complete for two months, advising them at the same time to continue in the service of Seuthes. Upon which Timasion said, "If you would give me five months' pay, I would not serve without Xenophon;" and Phryniscus and Cleanor said the same thing.

This made Seuthes chide Heraclides for not calling in Xenophon: so they sent for him alone; but he being sensible this was an artifice in Heraclides, contrived to create a jealousy in the rest of the generals, took not only all the generals, but likewise all the captains, along with him: and all of them approving of what Seuthes proposed, they pursued their expedition, and, marching through the country of the Thracians, called the Melinophagi, with the Euxine Sea on their right hand, they arrived at ³⁴Salmydessus. Here many ships upon their arrival in the Euxine Sea, strike, and are driven ashore, the coast being full of shoals, that run a considerable way into the sea. The Thracians, who inhabit their coast, raise pillars, in the nature of bound stones; and every man plunders the wreck that is cast upon his own coast. It is said, that before they erected these pillars, many of them lost their lives by quarrelling with one another about the plunder. In this place are found many beds, boxes, books, and several other things which sailors usually carry in their chests. The army, after they had subdued this people, marched back: that of Seuthes was now grown superior in number to the Greeks; for many more of the Odrysians were

come down to him, and the Thracians, as fast as they submitted, joined the army. They now lay encamped in a plain above Selymbria, about fifty stadia from the sea. As yet no pay appeared, and not only the soldiers were displeased at Xenophon, but Seuthes himself was no longer disposed in his favour; and whenever he desired to be admitted to him, business of many kinds was pretended.

Two months were now very near elapsed, when Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, and Polynicus, arrived from Thimbron. They gave an account that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to make war upon Tissaphernes, and that Thimbron was sailed from Greece with that design. They added, that he had occasion for this army, and that every common soldier should have a ³⁵darick a month, the captains two, and the generals four. Upon the arrival of the Lacedæmonians, Heraclides, hearing they were come for the army, immediately told Seuthes it was a happy incident; "For," says he, "the Lacedæmonians are in want of the army, and you are not so. In resigning it, you will confer an obligation on them, and the soldiers will no longer ask you for their pay, but will leave the country."

Seuthes, hearing this, ordered the Lacedæmonians to be brought in: and, upon their saying they came for the army, he told them he was willing to resign it, and desired they would account him their friend and ally: he also invited them to his table, pursuant to the laws of hospitality, and gave them a magnificent entertainment. But he did not invite Xenophon, or any one of the other generals. The Lacedæmonians inquiring what kind of man Xeno-

phon was, he answered, that he was in other respects no ill man, but a friend to the soldiers; which hurts him. "But," said they, "is he a popular man with them?" "Altogether so," says Heraclides. "Then," answered the Lacedæmonians, "will not he oppose our carrying away the army?" "If you call the soldiers together," says Heraclides, "and promise them pay, they will have no regard to him, but will quickly follow you." "How," replied they, "shall they be assembled for that purpose?" "Early to-morrow morning," says Heraclides, "we will bring you to them; and I am confident," added he, "that as soon as they see you, they will cheerfully assemble." This was the result of that day's business.

The next, Seuthes and Heraclides brought the Lacedæmonians to the army, which assembled for that purpose. These informed them, that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to make war upon Tissaphernes, "who," said they, "has injured you. If, therefore, you engage with us, you will both revenge yourselves of an enemy, and receive each of you a darick a month, the captains two, and the generals four." This was well received by the soldiers: and presently, one of the Arcadians rose up to accuse Xenophon. Seuthes was also present, being desirous to know the result, and for that purpose had placed himself within hearing, with his interpreter; though he himself understood most things that were spoken in Greek. The Arcadian said: "Know then, O Lacedæmonians, that we should long since have engaged ourselves in your service, if Xenophon had not prevailed upon us to come hither, where, though we have

been upon our duty both night and day, during this severe winter, we have ³⁶acquired nothing, while he enjoys the reward of our labour, and Seuthes enriches him personally, and deprives us of our pay: so that," continued he, "if I could see this man stoned to death, and punished for leading us about, I should think I had received my pay, and no longer regret my labour." After him, another got up, and then another: upon which, Xenophon spoke as follows:

"There is nothing a man ought not to expect, since I find myself accused by you for that, in which my conscience tells me I have had all the zeal in the world for your service. I was already set out in order to go home, when I turned back, be assured, not because I heard you were in prosperity, but rather because I was informed you were in difficulties, with this intent, that I might serve you, if it was in my power. When I came to the army, though Seuthes sent several messengers to me with many promises, in case I prevailed upon you to go to him, yet I never endeavoured it, as you yourselves know; but led you to that place, from whence I thought you would have the quickest passage into Asia. This I looked upon as a measure the most agreeable both to your interest and inclination. But when Aristarchus arrived with the galleys, and prevented your passage, I then (as it became me) called you together, that we might consider what was to be done. Upon that occasion you heard, on one side, Aristarchus ordering you to go to the Chersonesus, and, on the other, Seuthes proposing terms to engage you in his service, when all of you declared you would go with Seuthes, and all

gave your notes for it. Say, then, if I committed any crime in carrying you all whither you resolved to go. If, when Seuthes began to break his promise concerning your pay, I then commended him, you would have reason both to accuse and hate me; but if I, who was before his greatest friend, am now his greatest enemy, how can you any longer with justice blame me, who have given you the preference to Seuthes, for those very things about which I quarrel with him? Possibly, you may say that I have received your pay of Seuthes, and that all I say is artifice; but is it not plain, that, if Seuthes paid me any thing, it was not with a view of being deprived of that part of your pay which he gave me, and of paying you the rest? On the contrary, if he had given me any thing, I dare say his design would have been to excuse himself from paying you a large sum, by giving me a small one. If, therefore, you are of opinion, that this is the case, it is in your power presently to render this ³⁷ collusion useless to both of us, by ³⁸insisting upon your pay: for it is evident that Seuthes, if I have received a bribe from him, will, with justice, redemand it, when I fail in performing the contract in consideration of which I was bribed. But my conscience tells me that I am far from having received any thing that belongs to you: for I swear by all the gods and goddesses, that I have not even received from Seuthes what he promised me in particular. He is present himself, and, as he hears me, he knows whether I am guilty of perjury or not: and that you may still have more reason to wonder,

I also swear, that I have not only received less than the rest of the generals, but even than some of the captains. For what reason, then, did I do this? I flattered myself, gentlemen, that the greater share I had of this man's poverty, the greater I should have of his friendship, when it was in his power to shew it; but I see him now in prosperity, and, at the same time, discover his temper. Possibly, some may say, are you not then ashamed to be thus stupidly deceived? I should, indeed, be ashamed to be thus deceived by an enemy; but, in my opinion, there is a greater shame in deceiving a friend, than in being deceived by him. If it is allowed to be upon one's guard against a friend, I know you have all been very careful not to give this man a just pretence to refuse the payment of what he promised: for we have neither done him any injury, neither have we hurt his affairs through negligence, or, through fear, declined any enterprize he proposed to us. But you will say, we ought then to have taken some assurance, that, although he had been desirous to deceive us, he might not even have had it in his power. Hear then what I should never have mentioned before him, unless you had shewn yourselves either entirely inconsiderate, or very ungrateful to me. You remember under what difficulties you laboured, from which I extricated you by carrying you to Seuthes. When you offered to go into Perinthus, did not Aristarchus, the Lacedæmonian, shut the gates against you? Did not you, upon that, encamp in the open field? Was not this in the middle of winter? Was there not a scarcity of provisions in

the market, and a scarcity of the means to purchase them? In the mean time, you were under a necessity of staying in Thrace, (for the galleys lay at anchor ³⁹ to observe your motions, and hinder your passage); and while you staid, you staid in an enemy's country, where great numbers both of horse and targeteers were ready to oppose you. It is true, we had heavy-armed men, who, by going to the villages in a body, might possibly provide themselves with a small quantity of corn; but we were not prepared to pursue the enemy, or supply ourselves with slaves and cattle: for at my return, I found neither the horse nor targeteers any longer in a body. While, therefore, you were in so great necessity, if, without even insisting upon any pay, I had procured Seuthes to become your ally, who had both horse and targeteers, which you were in want of, do you think I should have made ill terms for you? It was owing to their assistance, that you not only found greater quantities of corn in the villages, the Thracians being thereby obliged to precipitate their flight, but had also your share both of cattle and slaves. From the time also we had the assistance of these horse, we saw no enemy, though before they boldly harassed us both with their horse and targeteers, and, by hindering us from going off in small parties, prevented our supplying ourselves with provisions in any quantity. But if the person whose assistance procured you this security has not also paid you very considerably for being secure, can you look upon this as a moving calamity? And, for this, do you think yourselves obliged, by no means, to suffer me to live? But in

what circumstances are you, now you are leaving this country? After you have passed the winter in plenty, have you not, as an accession to this advantage, the money you have received from Seuthes? For you have lived at the expense of the enemy; and while you have been thus employed, none of you have either been killed or taken prisoners. If you have gained some reputation against the Barbarians in Asia, is not that entire, and have you not added a new glory to it by the conquest of the European Thracians? I own I think you ought to return thanks to the gods for those very things, as for so many blessings, for which you are displeased with me. This is the situation of your affairs: consider now, I beg of you, that of mine. When I first set sail in order to return home, I went away attended with great praise from you, and, through you, with reputation from the rest of Greece: I had also the confidence of the Lacedæmonians (otherwise they would not have sent me back to you): now, I go away suspected by the Lacedæmonians, through your means, and hated by Seuthes, upon your account, whom I proposed, by uniting my services to yours, to have made an honourable refuge both to myself and my children, if I should have any: while you, for whose sake, chiefly, I have made myself odious, and that to persons far more powerful than myself—while you, I say, for whom I cease not, even now, to procure all the advantages I am able, entertain such thoughts of me. You have me in your power. I neither fled from you, nor endeavoured it; and if you do what you say, know that you will put to death a man,

who has often watched for your safety, who has undergone many labours and dangers with you, while he not only did his own duty, but that of others; who, by the favour of the gods, has with you raised many trophies of the Barbarians' defeats, and who laboured, to the utmost of his power, to engage you to make none of the Greeks your enemies. For you are now at liberty to go whithersoever you please, either by sea or land, without controul. This then is the season, when there is so great an appearance of prosperity; now you are going to sail for a country, where you have long since desired to be; when those, who are most powerful, want your assistance; when pay is offered, and the Lacedæmonians, who are allowed to be the best generals, are come to command you—this, I say, you think the proper season to put me to death. You did not think fit to do it when we were in difficulties, O men of admirable memories!—then you called me father, and promised ever to remember me as your benefactor. However, those who are now come to command you, are not void of sense; so that I believe your behaviour to me will not recommend you to them.” Xenophon said no more.

Then Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, rose up and spoke in the following manner: “Gentlemen, you seem to have no just cause of displeasure against this man; since I myself can give testimony in his favour: for Seuthes, when Polynicus and I inquired what kind of man Xenophon was, had nothing else to lay to his charge, but that he was a great friend to the soldiers, which, says he, hurts

him both with regard to the Lacedæmonians, and to myself." After him, Eurylochus, of Lusian, an Arcadian, got up, and said: "My opinion is, O Lacedæmonians, that the first act of generalship you exercise, should be to obtain our pay of Seuthes, either with or without his consent; and that till then, you ought not to carry us away." Polycrates, the Athenian, next rose up, and spoke in favour of Xenophon: "Gentlemen," says he, "I see Heraclides also present in the assembly, who, having received the booty we acquired by our labour, and sold it, has neither paid the ⁴⁰ money to Seuthes, nor to us; but, having robbed both, still keeps possession of it. If, therefore, we are wise, let us apprehend him; for this man is no Thracian, but, being himself a Greek, does an injury to Greeks."

Heraclides, hearing this, was thunder-struck, and, coming to Seuthes, said, "If we are wise, we shall withdraw ourselves out of the power of these people." So they mounted on horse-back, and rode off to their own camp; from whence Seuthes sent Ebozelmius, his interpreter, to Xenophon, to desire him to remain in his service, with a thousand of the heavy-armed men, assuring him, at the same time, that he would give him the places of strength near the sea, and every thing else he had promised him. To this he added, as a secret, that he was informed by Polynicus, that if he put himself in the power of the Lacedæmonians, he would certainly be put to death by Thimbron. Many other persons also, between whom and Xenophon there was an intercourse of hospitality, gave him notice, that he

lay under a suspicion, and ought to be upon his guard. Xenophon, hearing this, offered two victims to ⁴¹ Jupiter the King, and consulted him whether it were better and more advantageous for him to stay with Seuthes, upon the terms he proposed, or to depart with the army: and Jupiter signified to him that he ought to depart.

After that, Seuthes encamped at a greater distance, and the Greeks quartered in the villages, from whence they might get most provisions, before they returned to the sea. These villages Seuthes had given to Medosades, who, seeing every thing in them consumed by the Greeks, resented it; and taking with him an Odrysian, a man of the greatest power of all those who had come from the Upper Thracia to join Seuthes, and about fifty horse, came to the Greek army, and called to Xenophon to come to him, who, taking some of the captains, and other proper persons, went to him. Then Medosades said: "You do us an injury, O Xenophon, in laying waste our villages. Wherefore, we give you notice, I in the name of Seuthes, and this man, from Medocus, king of the Upper Thrace, to leave the country; otherwise, we shall not allow you to remain here; and if you continue to infest our territories, we shall treat you as enemies."

When Xenophon heard this, he said: "What you say is of such a nature, that it is even a pain to me to give an answer to it: however, I shall return one, for the information of this youth, that he may be acquainted both with your behaviour, and with ours. Before we entered into an alliance with you, we marched through this country at our plea-

sure, and laid waste and burned any part of it we thought proper; and you yourself, when you came to us in the quality of an ambassador, staid with us, without the apprehension of an enemy. Whereas you, who are subjects of Seuthes, either never came into this country at all, or, if you came hither, you kept your horses ready bridled while you staid, as in a country belonging to those who were more powerful than yourselves. But now, since, by becoming our allies, you have got possession of it, you would drive us out of this country, though you received it from us, as a conquest we were willing to resign, for you yourself are sensible the enemy was not strong enough to dispossess us; and not only want to send us away ⁴² without any acknowledgment for the benefits you have received, but also to hinder us, as far as you are able, from encamping in the country, as we pass through it; and this you urge, without reverence either to the gods, or to this man, who sees you now abounding in riches; you, who before you entered into an alliance with us, lived by plunder, as you yourself have owned. But why do you say this to me?" continues he, "for I have no longer the command; but the Lacedæmonians, to whom you resigned the army, that they might carry it away, which you did without consulting me, most admirable men! and without giving me an opportunity of obliging them by delivering the army to them, as I had disoblinded them by carrying it to you."

As soon as the Odrysian heard what Xenophon said; "O Medosades!" says he, "I am ready to sink into the earth with shame, when I hear this.

Had I known it before, I should not have accompanied you, and shall now depart; for Medocus, my sovereign, will not approve of my conduct, if I should drive our benefactors out of the country." Having said this, he mounted on horseback, and rode away, with all the rest of the horse, except four, or five. Upon which, Medosades (for he was uneasy to see the country laid waste) desired Xenophon to call the two Lacedæmonians. He, taking some proper persons along with him, went to Charminus and Polynicus, and told them Medosades desired they would come to him, designing to order them, as he had him, to leave the country. "It is my opinion, therefore," says he, "that you will receive the pay due to the army, if you let him know that the soldiers have desired you to assist them in obtaining it, either with, or without the consent of Seuthes; and that they engage to follow you, with cheerfulness, if they succeed in their demands. Tell him, at the same time, that you find their claim is founded in justice, and that you have promised them not to depart till they succeed in it." The Lacedæmonians, hearing this, said, they would acquaint him with it, and with whatever else would prove most effectual: and immediately set out with proper persons to attend them. When they arrived, Charminus said, "O Medosades! if you have any thing to say to us, speak; if not, we have something to say to you." Medosades, with great submission, answered, "Seuthes and I have this to say: we desire that those who are become our friends, may suffer no ill treatment from you; for whatever injury you do to them, you will now do to us,

since they are our subjects." The Lacedæmonians replied, "We are ready to depart, as soon as those who have forced them to submit to you, have received their pay: otherwise, we are come to assist them, and take revenge of those men, who, in violation of their oaths, have wronged them. If you are of that number, we shall begin by doing them justice against you."

Then Xenophon said: "Are you willing, O Medosades! to leave it to the people, in whose country we are, (since you say they are your friends) to determine, whether you, or we, shall leave it?" This he refused, but desired, by all means, the two Lacedæmonians would go to Seuthes about the pay, and said it was his opinion Seuthes would hearken to them: but, if they did not approve of that, he desired they would send Xenophon with him, assuring them of his assistance in obtaining it. In the mean time, he begged they would not burn the villages. Upon this, they sent Xenophon with such persons as were thought most proper to attend him. When he came to Seuthes, he said: "I am not come, O Seuthes! to ask any thing of you, but to demonstrate to you, as well as I am able, that you had no just cause to be displeased with me for demanding of you, on the behalf of the soldiers, the pay which you cheerfully promised them; since I was convinced that it was not less your interest to give it than theirs to receive it: for I knew, in the first place, that, next to the gods, they have rendered you conspicuous by making you king over a large extent of country, and great numbers of people:

so that your actions, whether commendable or infamous, cannot possibly be concealed from public notice. In this situation, I look upon it as a matter of great moment to you not to have it thought that you send away your benefactors without rewarding their services; and not less so to have your praise celebrated by six thousand men. But above all, that it concerns you, in no degree to derogate from the credit of what you say; for I observe the discourse of men without credit to be vain and ineffectual, and to wander disregarded; while that of persons who are known to practise truth is not less effectual to obtain what they desire than the power of others; I know also, that if they propose to reform any one, their threats are not less powerful to that end than the immediate punishments inflicted by others; and if such men promise any thing, they succeed no less by promising than others by giving presently. Recollect with yourself what you paid us, before you received our assistance. I know you paid us nothing. But the confidence you created in us of your performance of what you promised, induced such numbers of men to join their arms to yours, and conquer a kingdom for you, not only worth fifty talents (the sum these men look upon to be now due to them), but many times that sum. In the first place, therefore, for this sum you sell your credit, to which you owe your kingdom. After that, call to mind of what consequence you thought it to you to obtain what you now have conquered, and possess. I know you wished to obtain it rather than to gain many times that sum.

Now I look upon it to be a greater injury, as well as disgrace, to lose the possession of this conquest than never to have gained it; as it is more grievous to a rich man to become poor than never to have been rich, and more afflicting to a king to become a private man than never to have been a king. You are sensible that these people, who are now become your subjects, were not prevailed upon to submit to you by their affection for you, but by necessity: and that they would endeavour to recover their liberty, if they were not restrained by fear. Whether, therefore, do you think they will be more afraid, and more devoted to your interest, if they see not only these soldiers disposed to stay, if you desire it, and presently to return, if necessary, but others, from the advantageous character these give of you, ready to come to your assistance in any thing you require of them; or if they are possessed with an opinion that hereafter none will ever engage in your service, from a distrust created by your present behaviour; and that these have a greater affection for them than for you? Besides, these people did not submit to you because they were inferior to us in numbers; but because they wanted leaders. This danger, therefore, you are also exposed to; they may choose for their leaders some of our men, who think themselves wronged by you, or those who have still more power, the Lacedæmonians; especially, if, on one side, the soldiers shew greater alacrity to engage in their service, upon condition that they force you to give them their pay; and on the other, the Lacedæmonians, from the want they have of the army, con-

sent to the condition. It is also no secret that the Thracians, who are now become your subjects, had rather march against you than with you: for if you conquer, they are slaves; and if you are conquered, free. But if you think it incumbent on you to have any regard to the country, now it is your own, whether do you think it will receive less damage if these soldiers, having received what they insist upon, leave it in peace, or if they stay in it, as in an enemy's country; while you endeavour to raise more numerous forces, which must also be supplied with provisions, and with these make head against them? And whether do you think the expense will be greater, if the money due to these is paid, or if this is still suffered to remain due, and it becomes necessary for you to take other forces into your pay ⁴³powerful enough to subdue the former? But Heraclides, I find, by what he declared to me, thinks this sum very considerable. It is certainly much less considerable to you now both to raise and pay, than the tenth part of it was before we came to you: for the quantity of money is not the measure of the greatness or smallness of the sum, but the ability of the person who is either to pay or to receive it: and your annual income now exceeds the whole of what before you were worth. In what I have said, O Seuthes! I have had all the consideration for you that is due to a friend, to the end that both you may appear worthy of the favours the gods have bestowed on you, and I not lose my credit with the army. For, be assured, that if I desired to punish an enemy, it is not in my power to effect it with this army, or to

assist you, if I were again inclined to attempt it: such is their disposition with regard to me. And now I call both upon you, and the gods, who know the truth of what I say, to witness, that I have never had any thing from you in return for the services you have received from the army, or ever demanded of you, for my own use, any thing that was due to them, or claimed what you promised me. I also swear, that, though you had been willing to perform your promise to me, yet I would not have accepted any thing, unless the soldiers, at the same time, had received what was due to them: for it would have been a shame for me to succeed in my own pretensions, and to suffer theirs to remain without effect; particularly, since they had done me the honour to choose me for one of their generals. Heraclides, I know, looks upon all things as trifles when compared to the possession of riches, by what means soever acquired: but I, O Seuthes! am of opinion, that no possession does more become and adorn a man, particularly a prince, than that of virtue, justice, and generosity; for whoever enjoys these, is not only rich in the numerous friends he has, but in those who desire to become so: if he is in prosperity, he has many ready to rejoice with him; and if in adversity, to relieve him. But if neither my actions nor my words are able to convince you that I am your sincere friend, consider what the soldiers said; for you were present, and heard the speeches of those who were desirous to asperse me. They accused me to the Lacedæmonians, that I was more devoted to your interest than to that of the latter; and, at

the same time, objected to me that I studied your advantage more than theirs: they also said that I had received presents ⁴⁴from you. Now, do you think they accused me of receiving these presents because they discovered in me any indisposition to your service, or because they observed in me the greatest zeal to promote it. I am indeed of opinion that all men ought to shew an affection to those from whom they have received presents. Before I did you any service, you gave me a favourable reception by your looks, your words, and your hospitality, and never could satisfy yourself with making promises. Now you have accomplished what you desired, and are become as considerable as I could make you, finding me thus fallen into disgrace with the soldiers, you dare neglect me. But I am confident time will inform you that you ought to pay them what you promised, and also that you yourself will not suffer those who have been your benefactors to load you with reproaches. I have, therefore, only this favour to ask of you, that when you pay it, you will study to leave me in the same credit with the army in which you found me."

When Seuthes heard this, he cursed the man who had been the cause of their not having been paid long since, (every one concluding he meant Heraclides.) "For my part," says he, "I never designed to deprive them of it, and will pay them what is due." Then Xenophon said again, "Since you are resolved to pay the money, I desire it may pass through my hands, and that you will not suffer me to be in a different situation with the

army now from that I was in when we came to you." Seuthes answered, "You shall not suffer in the opinion of the soldiers by my means; and if you will stay, with only one thousand heavy-armed men, I will give you not only the places of strength, but every thing else I promised." The other made answer, "That is not possible, so dismiss us." "I know," replies Seuthes, "you will find it safer for you to stay with me, than to depart." Xenophon answered, "I commend your care of me: however, I cannot possibly stay, but wheresoever I am in credit, be assured that you shall also find your advantage in it." Upon this Seuthes said, "I have very little money; no more than one ⁴⁵ talent, which I give you; but I have six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and one hundred and twenty slaves; take these with you, together with the hostages of those who wronged you." Xenophon replied, smiling, "But if these are not sufficient to raise the money that is due, whose talent shall I say I have? Is it not more advisable for me, since my return is attended with danger, to take care I am not stoned? You heard their threats." The remainder of the day they staid there.

The next he delivered to them what he had promised, and sent persons with them to drive the cattle. In the mean time, the soldiers said that Xenophon was gone to Seuthes with a design to live with him, and to receive what the other had promised him: but when they saw him returned, they were rejoiced and ran to him. As soon as Xenophon saw Charminus and Polynicus, he said,

“The army is obliged to you for these things. I deliver them to you, do ⁴⁶ you sell them, and distribute the money among the soldiers.” They having received the things, and appointed persons to dispose of them, sold them accordingly, and incurred great censure. Xenophon had no share in the management, but openly prepared to return home: for he was ⁴⁷ not yet banished from Athens. But his ⁴⁸ friends in the army came to him, and begged he would not leave them till he had carried away the army, and delivered it to Thimbron.

After this, they crossed the sea to ⁴⁹ Lampsacus, where Euclides, the Phliasian priest, the son of ⁵⁰ Cleagoras, who painted the dreams in the Lyceum, met Xenophon, and, after congratulating him upon his safe return, asked him how much gold he had. The other swore to him that he had not money enough to carry him home, unless he sold his horse and his equipage. However, Euclides gave no credit to him; but after the inhabitants of Lampsacus had sent him presents in token of their hospitality, and Xenophon was offering sacrifice to Apollo in his presence, Euclides, upon viewing the entrails of the victim, said he was now convinced he had no money; “But,” added he, “I find if there should ever be a prospect of any, that there will be some obstacle, and if no other, that you will be an obstacle to yourself.” Xenophon owned this; upon which Euclides said, “The ⁵¹ Meilichian Jupiter is an obstacle to you;” and asked him whether he had, at any time, offered sacrifice in the same manner, “as I,” says he “used to sacrifice

for you at Athens, and offer a holocaust." Xenophon answered, that since he had been from home, he had not sacrificed to that god. The other advised him to offer sacrifice to that divinity, assuring him that it would be for his advantage. The next day Xenophon going to ⁵²Ophrynon offered sacrifice and burned hogs whole, according to the custom of his country, and the entrails were favourable. The same day, Biton and Euclides arrived with money for the army. These contracted an intercourse of hospitality with Xenophon, and hearing he had sold his horse at Lampsacus for fifty daricks, and suspecting he had sold him through want, because they were informed he was fond of him, they redeemed the horse, and restored him to Xenophon, refusing to accept the price they had paid for him.

From thence they marched through Troas, and, passing over Mount Ida, came first to ⁵³Antandrus: then continued their march along the coast of the Lydian sea, to the plain of Thebes. From thence, through ⁵⁴Atramyttium, and Certonicum, by Aterne to the plain of Caïcus, and reached Pergamus, a city of Mysia. Here Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus, the Eretrian, and the mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. She informed him that Asidates, a Persian, lay encamped in the plain, adding, that with three hundred men he might surprise him in the night, and take him, with his wife and children, and all his riches, which were very considerable. At the same time, she sent a person, who was her cousin-german, together with Daphnagoras, for whom she had a particular

value, to conduct them in the enterprise. Xenophon, therefore, while these were with him, offered sacrifice: and Agasias, the Helean priest, being present, said the victims were very favourable, and that the Persian might be taken prisoner. Accordingly after supper, he set out, taking with him those captains who were most his friends, and had ever been faithful to him, that he might procure them some advantage. Others, to the number of six hundred, accompanied him whether he would or no; but the captains rode on before them, lest they should be obliged to give them a share of the booty, which they looked upon as their own.

They arrived about midnight, when they suffered the slaves that lay round the castle, together with a considerable quantity of effects, to escape, to the end they might take Asidates himself with his riches; but not being able to take the place by assault (for it was both high and large, well fortified with battlements, and defended by a good number of brave men), they endeavoured to make a breach in the wall, which was eight bricks thick. However, by break of day the breach was made; which was no sooner effected, than one of those who were within, ran the foremost man through the thigh with a ⁵⁵large spit. After that, they sent such a shower of arrows, that it was no longer safe to approach the wall. In the mean time, their cries, and the signals they made by lighting fires, drew Itabelius, with his forces, to their assistance. There came also from Comania, the garrison, consisting of heavy-armed men together with some Hyrcanian horse, who were in the king's pay, being about

eighty in number, and eight hundred targeteers; besides others from Parthenium, Apollonia, and the neighbouring places, and also horse.

It was now time for the Greeks to consider how to make their retreat. To effect this, they took all the oxen and sheep that were there, and then forming themselves into a hollow square, and placing them with the slaves in the middle, they marched away. They were now no longer solicitous for their booty, but only lest, by leaving it behind, their retreat might seem a flight, which would have increased both the confidence of the enemy, and the dejection of their own men. Whereas, while they made their retreat in this disposition, they seemed resolved to defend their booty. In the mean time Gongylus, seeing the number of the Greeks was small, and that of the enemy, who hung upon their rear, very considerable, came out himself against his mother's will, at the head of his own forces, being desirous to have a share in the action. ⁵⁶Procles also, who was descended from Damarratus, came to their assistance from Elisarne, ⁵⁷and Teuthrania. Now as Xenophon's men suffered very much from the enemy's arrows and slings, while they marched in a ring, in order to cover themselves from the arrows with their shields, it was with great difficulty they passed the river Caicus, near half their number being wounded. Here Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, was wounded, having the whole time fought with great bravery. At last they arrived safe, with about two hundred slaves, and cattle enough for sacrifice.

The next day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and

in the night led out the whole army, with a design to march as far as possible into Lydia, to the intent that the Persian, seeing him no longer in his neighbourhood, might be free from fear and unguarded. But Asidates hearing that Xenophon had again offered sacrifice concerning a second expedition against him, and that he would return with the whole army, quitted the castle, and encamped in some villages reaching to the walls of Parthenium. Here Xenophon's men met with him, and took him, with his wife and children, his horses and all his riches : and this was the success promised in the former ⁵⁸sacrifice. After that they returned to Pergamus. Here Xenophon had no reason to complain of Jupiter Meilichius ; for the Lacedæmonians, the captains, the rest of the generals, and the soldiers, all conspired to ⁵⁹select for him not only horses, but yokes of oxen, and other things, so that he had it now in his power even to oblige a friend.

After this, Thimbron arrived, and taking the command of the army, joined it to the rest of the Greek forces, and made war upon Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus.

The following persons were the king's governors of the countries through which we marched : of Lydia, Artimas ; of Phrygia, Artacamas ; of Lycania and Cappadocia, Mithridates ; of Cilicia, Syennesis ; of Phœnicia and Arabia, Dernis ; of Syria and Assyria, Belesis ; of Babylon, Roparas ; of Media, Arbacas ; of the Phasians and Hesperitans, Teribazus ; (the Carduchians, the Chalybians, the Chaldæans, the Macrons, the Colchians, the

Mosynœcians, the Coetans, and Tibarenians being free nations); of Paphlagonia, Corylas; of the Bithynians, Pharnabazus; and of the European Thracians, Seuthes.

The whole of the way, both of the Expedition and Retreat, consisted of two hundred and fifteen days' march, of ⁶⁰eleven hundred fifty-five parasangas, and of thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia; and the time employed in both, of a year and three months.

END OF THE EXPEDITION.

THE
DISSERTATION OF POLYBIUS

UPON THE
MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

17 B.

THE
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UPON THE
MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

HAVING promised, in [note 51 on] the Fourth Book, to compare, upon a proper occasion, the arms of the Romans and Macedonians, and the different dispositions of their respective armies, as also to consider the advantages and disadvantages of both ; I shall take the opportunity of their being engaged together, to endeavour to perform my promise. For since the Macedonian disposition, recommending itself by success, formerly prevailed over that of the Asiatics and Greeks ; and, on the other side, the Roman disposition has been victorious over that of the Africans, and of all the inhabitants of the western part of Europe ; and since, in our time, there has been not only one but many trials of the dispositions and soldiers of both nations ; it will be a useful and a creditable undertaking to inquire into the difference of their discipline, and consider the cause of the victories of the Romans, and of their excelling all other nations in military achievements, to the end we may not, by attributing their success to Fortune, like weak men, compliment the victorious

without foundation ; but by being acquainted with the true reasons of it, celebrate and admire the conquerors with justice.

As to what relates to the battles, in which the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, and the defeats they received from him, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them, since they were not owing either to their arms or their disposition, but to a superiority of genius, and conduct in Hannibal. This we have made appear in the relation of those battles : and this is farther confirmed by the event of the war, (for as soon as the Romans were commanded by a general equal to Hannibal, they presently became victorious) and also by the conduct of Hannibal himself, who, disliking the arms his men had till then made use of, upon the first victory he gained over the Romans, immediately armed his forces with the arms of the latter, and continued to use them ever after. It is also certain, that Pyrrhus not only made use of Italian arms, but also of Italian forces, in his engagements with the Romans, placing a body of Italians, and of his own men drawn up in a phalanx, alternately ; however, not even by this means, was he able to beat the Romans, but the event of all their battles proved doubtful. It was necessary to premise these things, to the end that nothing may seem to contradict our assertions. I now return to the proposed comparison. Many arguments may convince us that nothing can resist the phalanx in front, or withstand its onset, when possessed of all the advantages that are peculiar to it : for each man, with his arms, when drawn up in order of battle, takes up three

feet in depth; and their pikes, though originally sixteen cubits in length, are, however, in reality, fourteen; of these, four are taken up by the distance between his hands, and so much of the hinder part of the pike, as is necessary to balance the fore part, when presented to the enemy. This being so, it is plain that the pike, when grasped with both hands and presented, must project ten cubits before each man. Hence it happens, that the pikes of the fifth rank will project two cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth, will project more than two before the file-leaders, when the intervals between the ranks and files of the phalanx are properly observed, as Homer has shewn in these verses :

“ An iron scene gleams dreadful o’er the fields,
 “ Armour in armour lock’d, and shields in shields,
 “ Spears lean on spears, on targets targets throng;
 “ Helms stuck to helms, and man drove man along.”

POPE.

This being truly and beautifully expressed, it follows, that five pikes, differing two cubits from one another in length, must project before each of the file-leaders: so that it is an easy matter to represent to one’s self, the appearance, and strength of the whole phalanx, when being, as usual, drawn up sixteen deep, and presenting its pikes, it makes an attack. Of these sixteen ranks, those, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their pikes, to annoy the enemy; for which reason they do not present them, but each rank inclines them over the shoulders of that before it, in order to secure them from above; the pikes, by their closeness, defending them from the missive weapons, which might otherwise, by

flying over the foremost ranks, fall upon those who stand behind them. Besides, each of these ranks, pressing in file, with the whole weight of their body, the rank which immediately precedes, they not only strengthen the attack, but make it impossible for the foremost ranks to retreat. This being the disposition of the phalanx in the whole, and in part, we are now to give an account of the properties and difference of the Roman arms and disposition, by comparing them together. The Romans likewise, with their arms, take up three feet in depth: but, as they cover their bodies with their shields, changing their guard at every stroke, and make use of their swords both to cut and thrust, it happens that their line of battle is in a perpetual fluctuation; this makes it necessary for each man to have room, and an interval of, at least, three feet, both in rank and in file, if it is expected he should do his duty; from whence it follows, that one Roman will stand opposite to two file-leaders of the phalanx, and consequently be exposed to, and engaged with ten spears, which it is not possible for one man, when once the armies close, to cut to pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or easy to break through, since the hindmost ranks can contribute nothing either to the force of the file-leaders, or to the efficacy of their swords. From what has been said it may be easily concluded that, as I before observed, nothing can withstand the onset of the phalanx in front, while it preserves all the advantages that are peculiar to it. What therefore is the cause that gives the victory to the Romans, and defeats those who make use of the phalanx? It is this: military operations

are uncertain both in time and place ; whereas the phalanx has but one time, one place, and one disposition, in which it can perform the service that is expected from it. If therefore there was a necessity for the enemy to engage the phalanx at its own time and place, in every decisive action, it is reasonable to conclude, from what has been said, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is possible, and easy to be avoided, why should that disposition be any longer looked upon as formidable ? And, indeed, it is allowed that the phalanx stands in need of an even and open ground, where there is no impediment, such as ditches, chasms, vallies, eminences, and rivers : for all these are capable of confounding, and breaking its ranks. It must also be allowed, that it is almost impossible, at least very rare, to find places of twenty or more stadia, in which there is nothing of this nature : however, admit there are such places ; if the enemy does not think fit to engage the phalanx there, but, instead of that, marches round, and lays waste the towns, and country of their friends, what will be the service of such a disposition ? Since, while the phalanx remains in the places that are proper for it, so far is it from being able to relieve its friends, that it is incapable even of preserving itself ; for the enemy will easily cut off their provisions, the moment they have, without opposition, made themselves absolute masters of the country : and if the phalanx quits the places that are proper for it, to engage in any enterprize, it will become an easy conquest. But, if the enemy, resolving to engage the phalanx in an even place, should, instead of exposing his whole

army at once to the onset of the phalanx, retreat a little the instant it charges, the event may be easily foreseen from what the Romans now practise. For I desire no judgment be formed of my assertions from what I say, but from what has already happened: since the Romans do not engage the phalanx with all their legions drawn up in a line parallel to the former; but some divisions of them lie behind in reserve, while others are engaged; so that, whether the phalanx forces those who are opposite to it to give way, or is itself forced by them to give way, the property of it is destroyed: for, in order to pursue those who fly, or to fly from those who pursue, some parts of the line must leave the rest; which no sooner happens, than an opening is given for the reserve to take the ground they left, and, instead of attacking those who remain in front, to break in upon their flanks, or their rear. Since, therefore, it is an easy matter to avoid the opportunities, and advantages of the phalanx, but impossible for the latter to avoid those the Romans have over it, how is it possible there should not, in reality, be a great difference between them? Besides, it is sometimes necessary for the phalanx to march through, and encamp in all sorts of places; at others, to prevent the enemy, by seizing some advantageous post; sometimes, to besiege, at others, to be besieged, and to meet with unexpected occurrences; for all these things are incident to war, and either decide the victory, or greatly contribute to it: and, in all these, the disposition of the Macedonians is of little, or no use; it being impossible for the men, either in companies, or singly, to perform any

service: whereas that of the Romans is properly adapted to all; for every Roman, when once armed for action, is equally fit for all places, for all times, and all occurrences; he is also ready and equally disposed either for a general, or a particular action, to charge with his company, or engage in a single combat. As, therefore, the disposition of the Romans is vastly superior to that of the Macedonians in the use of all its parts, so the enterprizes of the former are vastly more successful than those of the latter.

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The Macedonian phalanx is a body of men, armed with pikes, and trained to fight in a close, compact manner. The Romans, on the other hand, are more flexible and adaptable, being able to fight in a variety of ways, and to adapt their tactics to the circumstances of the battle. The Macedonian phalanx is a more formidable weapon in the hands of a skilled general, but it is also more difficult to maneuver and to adapt to changing circumstances. The Roman army, by contrast, is more versatile and more capable of adapting to a wide range of situations. This makes the Roman army a more formidable opponent in the long run, despite the fact that the Macedonian phalanx is a more powerful weapon in the hands of a skilled general.

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GEOGRAPHICAL

DISSERTATION.

in which this learned gentleman differs from the
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THE following Geographical Dissertation is a work of so much learning, that I am confident it will be thought not only to explain, but even to adorn the Expedition of Cyrus ; and though at first, I believe, only designed as a compliment to my bookseller, is received with as great acknowledgment by the author, as it will be with approbation by the public. There are, I observe, some points, in which this learned gentleman differs from me in chronology, and the computation of the Greek measures, or rather from Diodorus Siculus, and Arbuthnot, whom I have followed ; but I could never answer it either to the public, or myself, if any difference of opinion in those points could create in me a wish to deprive them of so great an improvement, or my work of so great an ornament.

GEOGRAPHICAL
DISSERTATION.

IT is observed by a late ingenious author, that a prince, so entirely bent upon the enlarging of his territories, as Lewis XIV. was, could not be very well pleased with the mathematicians who measured his kingdom; for that, by fixing the true boundaries of his dominions, they robbed him of more land, than he could have any hopes of regaining by four or five of his most successful campaigns. The Mohammedan princes have still a stronger tie (if stronger can be than ambition) in this respect: their religion obliges them, both to extend their borders, and to be in a peculiar manner tenacious of what they already possess. How, therefore, the Grand Seignior may relish the measures of our modern geographers, I cannot take upon me to say; but certain it is, that they have deprived him of so much land (which before he had an uncontested title to) that had the Grand Monarque suffered in such a degree, the world would never afterwards have had any reason to fear the Gallic power.

The Arabians, who are the geographers the Turks are most conversant with, lay down Byzantium, and the northern parts of Asia Minor, in about 45

degrees of north latitude; Ptolemy in ¹about 43; and the southern parts of Cilicia, Pamphilia, &c. in ²36° 30'; whereas in fact the former lie in about 41°, and the latter in 37°. So that the Arabians make this part of the Grand Seignior's dominions four degrees and a half; Ptolemy, and by far the greatest part of the geographers ever since, two degrees and a half broader, than in reality it is; which, considering the length of the Euxine Sea, viz. more than 1000 miles, is so considerable a portion of country, as a superstitious Mohammedan could not be easily brought to part with.

I think, I may venture to say, that the Arabians are not to be complimented, with having made any great improvements in geography. It is probable, the first of them made use of a faulty copy of Ptolemy in laying down the places above-mentioned, or, it may be, instead of 43° 5', he mistook the letters, and made it 45°, and the rest followed him without ever inquiring into the truth. But for Ptolemy, who will, I believe, be allowed to be the greatest geographer the world ever produced, to fall into such a mistake, is very surprising; when we consider, that ³Herodotus positively affirms, that a man, prepared for expedition, could go on foot from the Cilician Sea to the Euxine in five days. Indeed Ptolemy makes a degree of the great circle to consist of but 500 stadia, and consequently the breadth of Asia Minor (as it is commonly called) will not be increased in proportion to the number of degrees, it being, according to this computation, about 400 miles English: but this is a great deal too much, especially as the country is very mountainous,

for a footman to dispatch in so short a time as five days.

Strabo, from Eratosthenes⁴, places the Sinus Issicus in the same parallel with the Fretum Gaditanum; which is pretty near the truth: but then he says again, from Hipparchus,⁵ that Narbon, Massalia, and Byzantium lie under one parallel. This it is probable⁶ led Ptolemy into the mistake above mentioned. The latitude of Massalia had been determined to be about 43° , by the observations of Pytheas. He therefore placed Byzantium and the shore of the Euxine in the same latitude, and of consequence made all this country almost double what it is in reality. Indeed Strabo proves afterwards, by an⁷ odd sort of reasoning, that the parallel of Byzantium is much more northward than that of Massalia: because from Byzantium to Rhodes, (which lies in the same parallel with the Fretum Gaditanum) he says, is allowed by all, to be 4900 stadia: but that from Massalia to the aforesaid parallel is not quite 2500. We may presume that Strabo, though a very cautious and very modest writer, did not attend to the words of Herodotus; for if he had, he must have concluded, that upon the supposition of Hipparchus and Eratosthenes, a footman could travel in five days the whole breadth of Spain, that is, from the Fretum Gaditanum (the streights of Gibraltar) to the Mare Cantabrium, (the bay of Biscay) and upon his own supposition in much less; either of which a man of his intelligence must know to be quite impracticable.

All that can be said in this case is, that the greatest part of the ancients looked upon Herodotus, as an

author that indulged himself too much in the privilege of travellers; and, therefore, in general, seem to give very little credit to what he advances: though time and experience have at last convinced the world, that he had a genius superior to the rest of mankind; that his diligence and veracity were equal to his genius; and that he, like our countryman R. Bacon, discovered truths too sublime for the contemplation of the age he lived in.

This I thought proper to premise, because several modern map-makers, and ⁸some late authors still adhere to Ptolemy, in placing Byzantium and the Euxine two degrees too far to the northward. I shall for the future confine myself to the proper subject of this dissertation, viz. to the route which the Greek army took, in their expedition to Babylon, and in their return back again.

Xenophon begins his account of their march from Sardis, the capital of Lydia, because he there joined the army; but afterwards constantly computes from Ephesus, the sea-port from whence he began his journey. They directed their ⁹march through the middle of the country; through Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and ¹⁰Cilicia, to the gates of Syria, near the upper end of Sinus Issicus.

From thence they proceeded to Myriandrus, a sea-port town, of which no foot-steps, that I can hear of, at present remain. Ptolemy ¹¹places it 20 minutes south of Alexandria penes Issum, (Scanderûn) upon the same meridian; but whoever casts his eye upon the chart of the bay of Scanderûn, will soon perceive this to be impossible: because the bay lies near the north-east and south-west, and

both these towns stood upon the shore. All that we can gather from it is, that they were distant from each other 20 of Ptolemy's minutes, that is, 19 English miles; and that therefore Myriandrus is to be placed at the entrance into the bay, just within the Scopulus Rhossicus, now called Ras al Khanzir.

From hence, the army, in four days' march, made 20 parasangas, (in our language leagues) and came to the river Chalus, very justly, by the great Delisle, supposed to be the Chalib, or Alep, the river of Aleppo; because the name is not only the same, allowing for the different genius of languages; but the distance shews it can be no other. For as Aleppo is about 20 small hours' journey from Scanderûn, so it must be something more from Myriandrus, which lay near south-west from the latter of those places; and as there lies a great bog in the direct road, which was made passable but of late years, and which Cyrus's army was to go almost round; we may conclude, that all these put together, must make the distance from Myriandrus to the Chalus, 20 parasangas, or Persian leagues. In mentioning the Chalus, I cannot but make one remark, and that is, that it is, in one respect, very different from what it was formerly. Xenophon says it was full of fish in his time; and gives a very good ¹² reason for it. Rauwolf ¹³ says there is great scarcity of fish at Aleppo, though the inhabitants do not esteem them; but the reason he gives for their indifference to this sort of victuals, seems to me a little extraordinary; he says, "It is because most of them drink water instead of wine."

From the Chalus, in five days' march, they made

30 parasangas, and came to the sources of the river Daradax, which Xenophon affirms to be 100 feet broad; by which we must naturally conclude, that the army marched along the bank of it a considerable way; because we cannot suppose any river in this country, the edge of the desert of Arabia, to be 100 feet in breadth at the source. What river this was, or what is the present name of it, is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine. The plethrum, or measure of 100 feet, is but a lax way of reckoning, and might, perhaps, be applied to rivers a ¹⁴great deal less than 100 feet in breadth: as our ¹⁵measures in modern times are often applied to rivers in a very random manner. However, as modern travellers take no notice of any such river, we must let it rest as it is, till more satisfactory discoveries are made in these parts. What surprises me most in this very particular account of their march is, that our author takes no notice of the river, now called ¹⁶Ephrin, about half way between the bay of Scanderûn and Aleppo; and which the army must of necessity pass in their march to the east: for it rises in the mountains above Korus, and falls into the lake of Antioch. This river is at least as considerable as the Chalus, and much more so, I dare venture to say, than any river between Aleppo and the Euphrates. This, among a great many others, some of which I shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this discourse, does almost prevail upon me to think, that Xenophon kept no journal, at least, no regular one, of this expedition; but that he drew it up a great many years afterwards, at his leisure, in his ¹⁷exile, from the several particulars, which must

have made a very strong impression upon his memory. This will not seem so strange, when we consider, that in Xenophon's days, writing was not what it is in ours; the materials were not easy to be had, nor were they easy to be carried in such marches as they performed.

From the source of the Daradax, they marched, in three days, fifteen parasangas, to Thapsacus upon the Euphrates. This city, though nothing at present remains of it but the name, was formerly a place of great note: it was the frontier town of the kingdom of Israel, in the days of David and Solomon, for it is said, 1 Kings iv. 24, that Solomon הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר מתפסה וער צוה בכל מלכי עבר הנהר; that is, "He had dominion over all on this side the river, from Thapsakh even to Ngaza, over all the kings on this side the river," viz. the Euphrates. Our translators have rendered them Tiphseh and Azzah, which puts such a disguise upon these two noted cities, that I dare to say, very few people, upon seeing these names in the Bible, have been able to know them. Such confusion has the pointing of the Hebrew brought into that primitive and sacred language! Thapsakh, in the original, signifies a pass, or passing over, or perhaps, in this place, more properly a ford; for, as in our nation, there are at present bridges over most of the rivers at such places as end in ford, such as Oxford, Wallingford, Hertford, and the like; yet it is certain that these names were given them from fording the rivers at those places before bridges were built. In like manner, it is more than probable that Thapsakh was so called, from the Euphrates being

fordable at that place ; because it was a town of note in David's time, and consequently must have had its name long before, in those times of simple nature, when ferry-boats and bridges of boats were not invented. Ptolemy makes the Euphrates fordable here ; and Rauwolf, about the same place, found the river so full of shoals, that though their boats could draw but little water, the navigation was extremely dangerous. And indeed Menon, who was a man of great cunning, must have drawn this secret from somebody, else it can scarce be supposed he would attempt to pass a river near half an English mile in breadth, that is, broader than the Thames at Woolwich. This I have been the more particular in, with a design to shew what a notable compliment the inhabitants of Thapsacus paid Cyrus, when they told him that the gods had wrought a miracle in his favour, by making the river, the great river, to submit to his authority ; inasmuch as it was never known to be fordable before this time.

I cannot here pass without taking notice of a great error crept into the copies of Strabo ; where, speaking of Alexander's design of subduing the Arabs, he tells us, " that great conqueror, seeing the impossibility of attacking them by land, proposed to build a great quantity of boats, in Phoenicia and Cyprus, and ¹⁸transporting them seven stadia, to Thapsacus, to convey them, by means of the river, to Babylon." Which makes it not a mile from the coast of the Mediterranean to Thapsacus, whereas it must be at least 150. I cannot find that any of the learned men, who have made their observations upon this

author, have taken any notice, much less made any attempt towards the clearing up, of this passage.

Pliny, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Lucan, affirm, that Alexander passed the Euphrates at Zeugma (a place near 230 miles higher up the river than Thapsacus), contrary to the authority of all other historians, and the nature of the thing itself; for as Alexander was at Tyre, in his return from Egypt, and was to direct his march towards Arbela, it would have been near 400 miles out of his way to have gone to Zeugma. What might probably lead Pliny and the rest into this mistake, was the name of the place: for ¹⁹Zeugma was so called, because a bridge was laid over the Euphrates there; and as there was also a bridge over the Euphrates at Thapsacus, it might easily lead authors, at so great a distance, into such a mistake. The reason Mr. Hutchinson gives, viz. that ²⁰“these authors must speak of different expeditions,” sounds somewhat strange to me; because it is certain, that Alexander made but one expedition against the Persian; at least (which is most to our purpose) that he never passed the Euphrates but once in these parts.

As to Ptolemy's placing Thapsacus in Arabia Deserta, whereas all other authors place it in Syria, it is but very little material; because, though it is really within the limits of Syria, yet it stands ²¹in the desert, which adjoins to Arabia. This great geographer places Thapsacus in 35 degrees of latitude; but as he puts all the sea-coast half a degree too far towards the south, so I have ventured to place this in 35° 30'.

The army having passed the Euphrates, marched upon the banks of it, for the most part: I say, for the most part, because they did not do it constantly; since Xenophon tells us, page 22. Book I. “that some of their marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind the army should go on, till they came to water or forage.” Now they cannot be supposed to quicken their marches for want of water, while they travelled upon the bank of so fine a river. We are but little acquainted with the course of the Euphrates, though several modern travellers have sailed down it. It is probable, that the river makes some great windings towards the south, where no man, that is acquainted with the country, would keep to the bank of it: one of these Rauwolf mentions, ²² which took them up more than half a day to pass.

Strabo makes the distance between Thapsacus and Babylon, following the course of the Euphrates (that is, the route this army took) ²³ to be 4800 stadia; and as it is repeated very often, we may depend upon it, there is no error crept into the text: and as the Greeks, in Alexander’s time, and for several years afterwards, travelled this way, the distance must be very well known. However, Xenophon, in his account of this march, makes it a great deal more, as we shall see by laying the several numbers together, viz.

	Parasangas.
From Thapsacus, through Syria, to the river	
²⁴ Araxes, in 9 days,	50
To the river Masca, unknown to modern writers, in 5 days,	35
To Pylæ, in 13 days,	90
Taken forward	175

	Parasangas.
Brought forward	175
In Babylonia, 3 days,	12
March in order of battle, p. 30, 1 day, . . .	3
March with less circumspection, 1 day, suppose	3
It is plain, from what is said concerning the retreat of Ariæus, after the battle, p. 41, that upon the day of battle they had marched	4
	197

Which amounts to no less than 5910 stadia. Now if we consider that they were yet a considerable distance ²⁵ on this side Babylon (Plutarch says 500 stadia), we must perceive this account swelled prodigiously above the truth. All the solution that I can pretend to give to this difficulty is, that the Persians, who were the guides of this expedition, must mark out the distances according to their fancies; that excessive heat and hunger are companions that make a journey seem tedious and long; and consequently, when their Persian friends told them they had marched so many parasangas, the Greeks made no hesitation to believe them, in order to rest themselves. And, indeed, if we attentively consider the marches, as set down in Xenophon, we shall find most of them too long for so great an army to perform, especially as they must have a prodigious quantity of carriages along with them, not only to convey their provisions, but also the accoutrements of the heavy-armed men. For instance, from the Araxes to the Masca, they marched in five days 35 parasangas, that is, above 24 miles a day.

From Masca to Pylæ, they dispatched in 13 days 90 parasangas, which is very near 24 miles one day with another; too much to be performed by an army of near 120,000 men, in the middle of summer, in the latitude of 34, and with such great numbers of attendants, as they must of necessity have along with them.

In marching through the country of Babylon, they came to the canals which were cut between the Tigris and Euphrates, in order, as most authors agree, to circulate the waters of the latter, which would otherwise drown all the adjacent country, when the snows melt upon the Armenian mountains. Xenophon says, these canals fall out of the Tigris into the Euphrates; whereas ²⁶Strabo and Pliny say the contrary, and Arrian goes so far as to affirm, that the level of the Tigris is much lower than that of the Euphrates; so that the water must necessarily run always one way. Our modern travellers inform us, that the country between these two rivers is, in these parts, rich low land, something like the province of Holland: so that it is more than probable, that these canals were cut to circulate the waters of the one river as much as the other; and that as the Tigris is by much the most rapid of the two, the water must come down with greater fury, and stand in more need of being diverted when it arrived in the level country. It is worth our observation, that these two great rivers could never swell at the same season; because as the mountains out of which the Tigris rises, lie in the south of Armenia, and those in which the Euphrates has its source, in the north, it is certain that the snows upon the

former must melt sooner, than those upon the latter. Accordingly, we find the author of Ecclesiasticus mentions the overflowing of the Tigris ²⁷ in the latter end of March and beginning of April. And Pliny assures us, that the Euphrates overflows in ²⁸ July and August. It might so happen, that the Greek or Roman travellers, from whom these authors could have had their intelligence (all travellers generally choose the spring to perform long journeys in) might not arrive at Babylon early enough in the season, to see any thing of the rise of the Tigris. But having spent March, April, May, and perhaps June, in their journey, they must find the channel of the Euphrates quite full, and discharging the superfluous waters, with great rapidity, into the Tigris; sufficient to persuade any common observer, that the level of the former must be above that of the latter. However, had it been so in reality, the Euphrates must quickly have forsook his old course, and in a few years have joined the Tigris, by one or more of these canals: for Strabo, and modern observers, have assured us, that the land between these rivers is fat and very rotten, and, consequently, must soon have been worn deep and broad enough to convey any quantity of water, which, for a constancy, could run through it. When our author was in this country, I find by computation, was towards the latter end of September, a time when both the Euphrates and Tigris must be very low; and, therefore, some art must be used, in order to make these canals so full of water. Clearchus, we see, suspected it to be the case (*vide* p. 56.), and no doubt but that he had good reason for these suspicions.

The Tigris was much the smaller river of the two, and consequently the more manageable. It is, therefore, probable, that they had some works in it, in order to raise the water to a proper height; and that when Cyrus approached with his army, it is likely the king ordered the country to be laid under water, as far as they were able to do it, with a design to retard and harass them as much as possible. This would turn the water through the canals into the Euphrates, and may be the reason why Xenophon differs from other authors in this particular.

Speaking of the magnitude of the Euphrates, puts me in mind of what Strabo says of it, where he informs us, that it run through the middle of ancient Babylon, and was a stadium in breadth,
²⁹ Ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς διὰ μέσον ῥεῖ τῆς πολέως σταδίων το πλάτος :
 which Calmet, with the generality of ³⁰ modern writers, takes for granted, without examining what difficulties such an assertion is loaded with. Xenophon, who forded it himself, affirms, that this river is four stadia broad at Thapsacus, above 500 miles higher than Babylon; and all the world is sensible, that rivers do not grow narrower the further they proceed in their course. What surprises me most is, that Calmet should fall into this mistake, when he had Rauwolf before him, and quotes him in this very article, as an author of considerable credit. This writer travelled through these parts near 200 years ago, and, speaking of the bridge of Babylon (some of the piers of which at this day remain), says thus; “The arches of it are built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the river, as we came

from Bir, where the river is a great deal smaller, we saw never a bridge; wherefore, I say, it is admirable which way they could build a bridge here, where the river is at least ³¹ half a league broad, and very deep besides." P. II. c. 7. Sir Thomas Herbert, who had been in these parts, and it is probable had taken a view of the river hereabouts, who, though he falls into a great many ³² mistakes in matters of learning, yet he must be allowed to be a competent judge in those things that are the objects of sense, assures us, that the Euphrates at ancient Babylon was well nigh double the breadth of the Thames at London. That Xenophon was not mistaken in the breadth of the river at Thapsacus, and that there is no error crept into the text, we may be convinced from what our ingenious countryman Maundrel says on the same subject, where he assures us, ³³ that a long bullet-gun could not shoot a ball over the Euphrates at Jerabolus: this I take to be the ³⁴ ancient Zeugma, above 2000 stadia, or 230 miles, higher up the river than Thapsacus. So that if it is so broad at Jerabolus, we cannot think four stadia (not quite half a mile) any thing extraordinary for its breadth at Thapsacus.

As to the situation of Babylon, I confess I can find nothing to determine it with any exactness. Though astronomical observations were made there constantly for several centuries, yet less remains (if less can remain) of these, than of that once so famous city. Mr. Bedford ³⁵ has reckoned up a great variety of opinions concerning the situation of this place, and at last himself adheres to one of the worst. He quotes three of the principal Arabians, who, it is

highly probable, had every one of them been upon the spot, and made some sort of observation to determine the latitude; for as they differ among themselves, they could not copy from any that went before, nor from one another; and as the difference is but very small, it might be owing to the inaccuracy of their instruments. But he chooses to forsake these, and follow Bochart, who places it ³⁶ almost a whole degree further to the north. As to the longitude, he, again from Bochart, makes it $77^{\circ} 46'$, which is a great deal too much: for as the longitude of Scanderûn has been determined ³⁷ to be $55^{\circ} 25'$, so upon the foregoing supposition, the meridian distance between Babylon and Scanderûn must be $22^{\circ} 21'$, which, upon a little examination, will be found very much to exceed the truth. For instance, from Scanderûn to Aleppo, is not 60 miles; which, considering the winding of roads, and the difference of latitude, cannot exceed one degree. From Aleppo to Thapsacus, Xenophon makes 45 parasangas, which upon this parallel, the difference of latitude above one degree, cannot make above two and a half degrees. From Thapsacus to Babylon was 4800 stadia, following the course of the Euphrates: Now, allowing for the difference of latitude, and bending of the river, we will suppose ³⁸ Babylon more to the east by 300 geographical miles (and this I am persuaded will be thought too much), which being reduced, will be found to be six degrees. So that the meridian distance between Scanderûn and Babylon cannot, upon any reasonable calculation, be supposed more than ³⁹ nine and a half degrees; which added to the longitude of Scanderûn, makes

64° 55', the longitude of Babylon. Bochart, therefore, has placed this city no less than 13 degrees too far to the east. As for the Arabians, Eachard, &c. they followed Ptolemy; and as he had, for the most part, nothing but imagination to determine the longitude of places by, it is not to be wondered at, if he generally does it in a manner very wide from the truth.

After the 4th battle, and the death of Cyrus, the Greeks, though victorious, had no hope left, but that of getting back again to their own country: but to effect this was a matter of considerable difficulty. To return by the same way they came, was impossible, because all their provisions were spent, and they were to march through the deserts of Arabia: and they wanted guides to shew them another road. At last they entered into a truce with the king, one of the conditions of which was, that he should conduct them safe to their own country. The officers sent by the king to perform this, led them through the middle of Babylonia, a country intersected with canals and ditches kept full of water, in order to convince the Greeks that all endeavours to arrive at Babylon must be in vain, if the people of the country were their enemies. I am far from being of Mr. Spelman's opinion, where he supposes the distance mentioned by Xenophon between the field of battle and Babylon, 3060 stadia, to be a mistake of the transcriber. The Persians, without doubt, persuaded them the distance was so great, and led them through the country with a design to convince them, that whoever should attempt to march thither, must be entirely discouraged

and baffled by the many difficulties he would meet with. They were no strangers, it is likely, to Daniel's Prophecies, which were wrote in their capital and in their language; and which plainly foretold, that their empire should be overturned by the Greeks. This they might endeavour to avert by such arts as I have mentioned; with a design that if any of these soldiers should get back again to Greece (which, however, they did all in their power to obstruct), they should spread such an account among their countrymen of the difficulties they had met with, as should for the future put a stop to all undertaking of this kind. There can no other reason, I believe, be assigned for conducting them to Sitace: for it was entirely out of their way, and they must pass ⁴¹by Babylon to arrive at it. This town stood near the Tigris, and part of the province of Babylon was from it called Sitacene. Strabo says, the road from Babylon to Susa lay through it. Now, as Susa was near S. E. from Babylon, Sitace must lie beyond Babylon from hence, at the distance of 500 stadia, as the same author informs us. Xenophon confirms this, by making it 20 parasangas, or 600 stadia, from Sitace to Opis, a large trading town upon the Tigris, about the place where Bagdat now stands.

From Opis the army marched up the Tigris, till they arrived at the mountains of the Carduchians, at present called the Curdes, the same untractable people, and shew the same regard to travellers they did to these Greek wanderers. They stroll about upon the mountains from hence as far as the springs of the Euphrates, and plunder every one they meet

with, that is weaker than themselves. They will be under no sort of government, and pay as little respect to the Turk, who pretends to be their master, as their forefathers did to the kings of Persia. In all this tract, I can find very little for a geographer to exercise himself upon. If Rauwolf had Xenophon's *Anabasis* along with him, or the contents of it fresh in his memory, he might have made several remarks, which would have given great light into our author; for he travelled over the same ground from Bagdat to these mountains.

It took up the army seven days to cross this inhospitable country, wherein they suffered more than from all the great armies of the Persians. At last they came to the Centrites, a river which, in those days, served as a boundary between the Curdes and Armenia. Mons. Delisle has made this river run eastward, and fall into the ⁴²lake of Van. I have ventured to turn its course westward; because I take it to be a branch of the Lycus, which, when it falls into the Tigris, is so very considerable a river, that Rauwolf ⁴³says, it is at least a long mile broad, and must come out of this country from the east; for had it come from the north, the Persians, after the rout at ⁴⁴Arbela, would have been under no necessity of running such risks in attempting to pass it. Besides, we ought to reflect, that in these seven days the Greeks could not have travelled more than 70 miles, considering the many obstructions they met with in the country of the Carduchians; and that as the course of the Tigris is in these parts from the N. W. and the course of the army to the north, they could not be 50 miles from

the Tigris, at the place where they crossed the Centrites. This river was not a very small one; Xenophon makes it 200 feet broad, and consequently, if it runs towards the east, must rise at least 30 miles toward the west; and then what room can we find for the rise and progress of so large a river as the Lycus, which must drain the east for a considerable distance?

From hence the army marched over the plains of Armenia to the river Teleboas, which Mons. Delisle in his ⁴⁵ Dissertation and Map, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, entirely overlooks, and passes from the ⁴⁶ head of the Tigris to the Euphrates, without taking any notice of, or laying down any river between them: however, in his large map, published in the year 1723, entitled, “Retraite de Dix Mille,” he has rectified this mistake, and laid down the Teleboas as an arm of the most easterly branch of the Euphrates, which M. Delisle has discovered, from Ptolemy, to rise 50 leagues to the winter-east of the springs above Ertzrum; and which he makes the Greeks pass just at the fountain. So that their passing of this branch of the Euphrates, must be more to the eastward by at least two degrees than the meridian of Ertzrum: but how little this squares with the situation of these countries, a small degree of reflection will convince us. We have seen above, that, upon the most favourable calculation, the longitude of Babylon cannot be more than $64^{\circ} 55'$. After the battle, the Greeks travelled upon the banks of the Tigris, till they came to the Carduchian mountains: now, as the course of this river is from the N. W. and W. N. W. so they must

diminish the longitude considerably by this long march. Delisle's map makes it three degrees; so that they entered the Carduchians' country in longitude $61^{\circ} 55'$. But the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which M. Delisle was geographer, places Ertzrum⁴⁷ in $68^{\circ} 45'$, so that the sources of the Euphrates, which M. Delisle, from Ptolemy, places 50 leagues S. E. of Ertzrum, must be at least in $70^{\circ} 45'$ longitude. Upon this supposition, therefore, the Greeks, in travelling three degrees of latitude, for so much M. Delisle makes it from their entering the Carduchians' country to their fording the Euphrates, must deviate to the east no less than nine degrees; which is quite incredible, especially as Xenophon himself tells us, and M. Delisle repeats his words, that their course was north. Again, let us view this affair in another light: Tournefort informs us (Vol. II. Let. 6.), that from Ertzrum to Aleppo is thirty-five days' journey; and Tavernier (Book II. c. 4.), that from Bir to Mousul is but fifteen days' journey. Now as Bir is in the road from Aleppo to Ertzrum, or very near it, and⁴⁸ four days' journey from Aleppo, so it will be thirty-one days' journey from Bir to Ertzrum. Bir is in lat. $37^{\circ} 10'$, Ertzrum in $39^{\circ} 56' 35''$, and Mousul in about $35^{\circ} 30'$. So that Ertzrum is more to the northward, with respect to Bir, than Mousul is to the southward, by $1^{\circ} 6' 35''$, for which we must allow five days' journey; therefore Ertzrum is more to the east than Mousul by eleven days' journey. But M. Delisle makes the Greeks enter the Carduchian mountains a little⁴⁹ to the west of Mousul; and, consequently, as they travelled north, must pass the Euphrates a great

deal to the west of Ertzrum; whereas he has laid down their route about 200 miles to the east of Ertzrum. M. Delisle tells us of one M. Duval, formerly geographer to the king of France, who drew a map of this expedition, and laid down the countries as best suited his own notions, without any regard to their true dimensions; by which he doubled the Persian dominions, and made Asia Minor to contain 1500 square leagues, instead of 600. How much M. Delisle has succeeded better, we have in some measure seen above. He quotes P. Beze's authority for the latitude of Trebisonde, but says not one word about the longitude: the reason of this seems to me to be, that, if he had, it would have upset his whole scheme. He places Babylon in 62° longitude, the Royal Academy places Trebisonde in 65° longitude, so that had the places been laid thus down, and the route of the army made somewhere towards the north, they must have arrived⁵¹ at the Euxine a good deal to the west of Trebisonde. In order to remedy this, he has laid down Trebisonde in 57 and a half, and Ertzrum in 58 ; has made the 10,000, from the Carduchian mountains, steer a N. N. E. course: so that when they came into Georgia, they turned to their left, and, travelling afterwards near 300 miles due west, arrived at Trebisonde. Whereas had the Black Sea been⁵¹ extended to its due length, the Greeks must have arrived at the shore of it where he places Taochir, the place where he makes them turn to the left.

I think I may venture to say that M. Delisle is equally unhappy in his guesses, with respect to the

ancient measures of the Greeks. He compares the distances of places, mentioned by Xenophon, with their true distance determined by astronomical observations. Xenophon makes the distance between Ephesus and the gates of Syria near equal to that between the gates of Syria and Babylon. Modern observers have discovered, that from Smyrna (near Ephesus) to Scanderûn (near the gates of Syria) is pretty near equal to the distance of Scanderûn from Bagdat (near ancient Babylon). ⁵² The same, he tells us, may be said of their return from Babylon to Trapezus: but that comparing these distances together, he concludes, that the measures of the ancient Greeks were much smaller than we suppose them; that a stadium in Xenophon's days was but about half so much as it was in the times of the Romans. He supposes, that in ancient times they made use of a common pace in the mensuration of land, which is no more than ⁵³ two feet and a half; whereas afterwards the pace was double, that is, five feet. He says, what confirms him in this opinion is, the quantity of a degree determined by Aristotle, who says in his book *De Cœlo*, that the circumference of the earth is 400,000 stadia, which being reduced, gives 1111 and one-third to each degree. However, upon examination, we cannot find that Aristotle ever determined the quantity of a degree, or that it was at all determined in his days. He is in this book speaking of the smallness of the body of the earth, plainly discoverable from the different elevations of the stars at different places, not far distant from each other; where he says, ⁵⁴ "That all the mathematicians who have attempted by

reasoning to discover the earth's circumference, affirm that it is 400,000 stadia." All we can gather from hence is, that, comparing the different elevations at several places together, they made a guess at the earth's periphery. Strabo seems to intimate, that Eratosthenes was the first who applied celestial observations to determine the magnitude of the earth; and ⁵⁵Mr. Cassini is positive in this opinion. However, we will suppose that Aristotle did determine the quantity of a degree to be 1111 and one-third of the stadia of his time, and that Eratosthenes discovered it to contain 700 of his time; it will then of consequence follow, that, between the days of Aristotle and Eratosthenes, the Greek measures were changed in the same proportion as 1111 and one-third bears to 700, which is a supposition that will hardly be allowed, when we consider, that from the death of the one to the birth of the other was little more than ⁵⁶40 years. Besides, if this method of arguing is to take place, there would be no end of altering the measures of antiquity. Xenophon makes it from Thapsacus to the place of battle 5910 stadia, which, with the 500 mentioned by Plutarch, makes the distance from Thapsacus to Babylon 6410 stadia. But in Aristotle's time, that is, at Alexander's expedition, about 70 years after Xenophon was in this country, it was found to be 4800; so that the stadium must be increased near one-fourth in this space of time.

It is very unlucky for M. Delisle's hypothesis, that the ancient Greeks never made use of such a measure as the pace, or had any such term, that I can find: all their measures were by the foot, and

by such compositions of it, as are very well known, such were the fathom, six feet; plethrum, 100; and stadium, 600. This last was their longest measure, and therefore they always compute large distances by it. When the Greek foot was first fixt, is, like the beginning of most other things, I believe, quite unknown; but to be sure, a great many centuries before the times we are treating of. And when the standard measure of any nation is once fixt and becomes current, it is not only needless, but extremely difficult, afterwards to alter it. Perhaps nothing less than the total destruction of a people, or an universal change of customs, can effect this. But suppose, for argument's sake, we allow that the Greeks had such a measure as the pace, and that originally this pace contained two feet and a half, but afterwards was disused, and the geometrical pace, that of five feet, took place; yet how could this affect the stadium, which contained 600 of such feet as the pace was composed of? As the foot was the foundation of both, so they could have no influence the one upon the other. Indeed, had the stadium been composed of a determinate number of paces, as the Roman mile was, M. Delisle's argument would have had some shew of reason in it, some probability to support it: but to apply two sorts of paces, which consisted of different numbers of feet, to the stadium, which consisted of a determinate number of feet of the same length, is such an impropriety, as I am surprised so sagacious a person, as M. Delisle most assuredly was, should fall into.

But it may be answered, that the difficulty still

remains. If Xenophon's measures are applied to the true distances, determined by astronomy, they will be found double: for from Ephesus to the gates of Syria, is made to be about 8000 stadia; whereas its real distance is not 5000. To this it may be replied, that great armies, with such numbers of carriages as they must always have with them, cannot go the nearest way; they must observe the disposition of mountains and rivers, and call at towns a good distance from the direct road, upon the account of provisions. This was undoubtedly the case of the army before us, which, if joined to what I said above about their Persian guides, may give a tolerable account why the distances are so magnified in their march from Ephesus to Babylon. But in their return the case is very different: at this time they reckoned for themselves, and if we take the distance from Opis (near which Bagdat now stands) to their passing the Euphrates below Ertzrum, we shall find, allowing for their course westward along the bank of the Tigris, I say we shall find it correspond pretty near with the astronomical observations.

Whereabouts they passed the Euphrates, I cannot take upon me to say: but we have seen above, that it must be considerably to the west of Ertzrum, below the junction of its ⁵⁷two branches; for had they passed two rivers by the name of Euphrates, Xenophon would certainly have taken notice of it. Indeed he says the springs of this river were not far off; but he speaks not of his own knowledge, and *ἐπεὶ ποταμὸς* is an intermediate expression, which does not at all fix the distance; besides, the river was

so deep, that it reached up to their middle, which is very considerable, as it was in the depth of winter, the snow lay upon the ground, and consequently could be supplied with no water, but from springs.

From the Euphrates they proceeded still north for three days. We are certain that their course was north, because our author informs us, that *ανεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίας ἔπνευε*, viz. that “the north wind blew full in their faces,” in so fierce a manner as “to scorch and benumb the men.” Now had they not thought themselves under a necessity of travelling north, they would never have chose to face so terrible a wind as this. They still proceeded one day farther; we must naturally conclude towards the same point of the compass: and then put themselves under the conduct of the bailiff of the village.

And here we meet with the greatest difficulty in the whole book. ⁵⁸ Ertzrum is but five days’ journey from the Euxine; and the Greeks, where they passed the Euphrates, could not be much farther from it. We have seen they marched to the northward three days 15 parasangas; and another day, the distance not mentioned (suppose five parasangas), which amount to above 60 miles: so that they must be at this time half way to the coast of the Black Sea. Insomuch that, had they kept still on in the same course, they must in three or four days more have arrived at Cerazunt, Trebisonde, or somewhere thereabouts. But, instead of this, we find they made it no less than 45 days’ march, and several of these very long ones, before they came to Trebisonde. This is very surprising, and the more so, when we consider, that from the sources of the

Euphrates to the banks of the Caspian, is not more than 13 days' journey. So that these wanderers were enclosed between the Euxine, the Caspian, the Euphrates, and Mount Caucasus: and how they could make such marches for 45 days together, in this space, is, I confess, entirely beyond my comprehension.

We find after the battle, when the Greeks were without guides, that they directed themselves ⁵⁹ by the sun; and Xenophon, in his speech to the army, in the Fifth Book, plainly shews, that they understood their compass well enough to know the four principal points. How, therefore, they could be so prodigiously misled, is very strange. However; we must remember, that in after-times, when these parts were better known, Artavasdes, the king of this country, abused Anthony ⁶⁰ by misleading him. We must consider, also, that when the Greeks were in this country it was the middle of winter; my account makes it January; and that these countries are at this time of the year extremely subject to fogs; so that they might not see the sun for several days together: and consequently the old bailiff, like a true subject of the king of Persia, might take such an opportunity to mislead them, in order to distress and destroy them. It is highly probable it was this that made him run away, and leave his son behind him: ⁶¹ for had he done his duty, it is not at all likely that he would have left his son in such circumstances. He might have some ambition in him, though his estate was but low; though he was but the superior of a ⁶² Troglodyte village, yet he might hope that the sacrificing of a son might raise him to the govern-

ment of a province ; as we see great numbers of garreteers among us, who think themselves qualified to be at least ministers of state.

After the Greeks had lost their guide, they marched seven days 35 parasangas, and arrived at the Phasis. This M. Delisle strives ⁶³ to prove is the Araxes. But by what is said above, it is quite improbable they could deviate so far to the east. And to suppose they came to the Araxes, after they had passed the Euphrates, is still more unlikely ; because these two rivers rise out of the same mountain, about ⁶⁴ six miles distant from each other ; the Euphrates runs west, and the Araxes east, and then south-east. Now, as the Greeks had passed the Euphrates, and travelled northward four days, they must have left the Araxes so far behind them, that it is very unlikely they could ever come back again to it. I would rather for the present, till this country is better discovered, suppose it to be the noted Colchian Phasis. Strabo affirms, that this river has its source in Armenia, ⁶⁵ *Φάσις μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων.* Dionysius, the geographer, says,

————— *Φάσις* —————
Ἀρξίμαχενος τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ὄρους Ἀρμενίου.

So that the ancients, who knew these countries much better than we do, gave the Phasis a very different rise to what is assigned it by the moderns, placing its source in the mountains of Armenia, probably, by what they say of its long course, not at a great distance from the fountains of the Euphrates and Araxes, especially as Dionysius calls it the Armenian mountain out of which the Euphrates rises.

This will appear still the more probable, if we

seriously attend to what Moses says in his description of Paradise, Gen. ii. 10, &c. where he informs us, that “a river proceeded out of Ngeden to water the garden: and there” מַשׁ, in that place, that is, in the garden, “it was divided and became into four heads” רִאשִׁים, Capita, as the Latin accurately expresses it: “the name of the first Phisun, which encompasses the whole country of ⁶⁶Khoilh” (for so it is written in the original, or perhaps Khoilkh), “where there is gold, and the gold of that country is good; there is also the” בִּרְלָה “and the stone” שֶׁהָם. All which particulars, viz. the name of the river, for Phisun and Phasis are very near the same, the name of the country, and the products of it, do plainly point out the Cholchian Phasis, we are now treating of. The ancients are so full of the Colchian gold, that it would be endless to quote all they say upon this subject. The bare mentioning the Argonautic expedition (whether real or fictitious) will be sufficient to persuade any one that Colchis was formerly noted for the best gold. What Pliny ⁶⁷says of it may convince us, that the character Moses gives of it is just, where he tells us, that “the gold of that country is good.” As to the בִּרְלָה it is supposed by the most learned writers, both Jews and Christians, to signify Crystal, and שֶׁהָם Emeralds; both which the ancients make Scythia, the country about Phasis, famous for. Solinus ⁶⁸informs us, that “though crystal was the produce of several parts of Europe, and some places in Asia, yet that of Scythia was the most valuable.” And Pliny mentions the emeralds of Scythia in such strong terms, that I

must beg leave to transcribe his words, it not being an easy matter to translate them. ⁶⁹ “*Nobilissimi Scythici ab eâ gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati: nullis major austeritas, nec minus vitii: et quantum Smaragdi a ceteris gemmis distant, tantum Scythici a ceteris Smaragdis.*”

It may be objected against what I have here said, that it is entirely improbable four rivers should have the same source, and that accordingly these four, which I suppose the rivers of Paradise, viz. the Phasis, the Aras, the Tigris, and the Phrat, have their sources at a considerable distance from one another. To this I answer, that the time Moses speaks of, was before the flood, when the surface of the earth was very different from what it is at present: for that the universal deluge wrought prodigious changes in the outward parts of this globe, I think is manifest from the very ruinous appearance of mountains, the unequal disposition of their parts (I mean, the heaviest bodies mixt with, and often placed above the lightest), and sea-shells found in great quantities and surprising varieties upon some of the highest of them. Should I attempt to explain the cause and manner of these alterations, or to write a geographical dissertation upon the antediluvian earth, what fate could I expect, when so many great men have handled this subject with so little success?

I am sensible the current of learned men is against me, who almost all agree that Paradise was situated about the place where Babylon afterwards stood; that the Tigris and Euphrates meet near that place, and afterwards part again: and therefore that the heads mentioned by Moses, are

those two partings, making four divisions; the two upper being Hiddekil and Phrat, the two lower Phison and Gihon. But, with due submission to those great names who have espoused this opinion, I believe it is founded upon a ⁷⁰ mistake: for that the Euphrates and Tigris do not meet together, till a great many hundred miles below Babylon; nay, it is positively affirmed by the ancients, that originally they did not meet at all, but had their channels distinct quite to the sea: and that the ⁷¹ inhabitants of the country, by stopping up the Euphrates, in order to water their lands, diverted its course, and turned it into the Tigris. In this manner were the Rhine and the Maese joined together by an earthquake in later times. Tavernier, who himself sailed down the Tigris, makes the present ⁷² junction of these two rivers, to be at Gorno, at the distance of 145 leagues, or 435 miles, from Bagdat, only fifteen leagues from Balsora. Indeed, Della Valle, and the East-India Pilot, make the river to part again, and fall into the Persian Gulf, by two mouths; but then whoever considers the situation of the country, that it is near the sea, and marshy, that the river is three or four miles broad, and that it overflows the adjacent country every year, will think it a very improper place to make a garden of, for the entertainment and delight of man in his state of innocence. Moses, indeed, says, that this garden was in the east from the place he wrote in, that is, from Arabia Petræa; but this will prove nothing at all, because the Hebrews took no notice of the intermediate points; so that when a place lay any where towards the east, they said it was situated מִקְרָא in the east; in the same

manner as we say, that Riga, Revel, and Petersburg, are in the east country. Job says, that “gold cometh out of the north;” meaning, without doubt, the gold of the Phasis; but then we must consider, that Job lived a great deal further east than where Moses wrote, bordering upon the Sabeans and Chaldeans, and consequently would have the Colchians near full north.

But, to return from this long, and, I am afraid, tedious digression:---The Greeks, after they had passed the Phasis, wandered into countries, of which there are but few marks at present to know them by. There is, indeed, a province of Georgia, called Taochir, which, as it has a plain resemblance to the Taochians, and as the Greeks must be in these parts, it may be presumed to have been formerly inhabited by this people. Who the Chalybians were, or where they lived, I can find nothing remaining. What Mr. Hutchinson ⁷³ quotes from Strabo, that *Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο*, is plainly meant of the Chalybians, in the next Book, who, as Mr. Hutchinson himself allows, were very distant, both in country and manners, from the people the Greeks had to deal with in this place.

After this they came to the river Harpasus. I do allow, with Delisle, that there is a river of this name in this country, which Tournefort calls ⁷⁴ Arpagi, and makes to fall into the Araxes: but how to bring the Greeks hither, and where to assign them the long marches they had before performed, is, I confess, quite above my sphere. To do any thing tolerable in this particular, we must wait till

this country is perfectly discovered ; and whenever there shall be a complete map of it exhibited to the world, we may venture to affirm, that then the learned will be able to lay down the march of this army, with some accuracy. The next people the Greeks met with in their progress, were the Scythians : probably the same with those Scythians,⁷⁵ whom Diodorus places in this country. From hence they came to a city called Gymnias ; of which I can meet with nothing, but that the same is called Gymnasia by Diodorus. At this place they were furnished with a guide, who was more just to them than the bailiff had been : for in five⁷⁶ days he conducted them to the top of a mountain, from whence they could plainly discern the sea. A sight they had long desired ! In a short time after this they arrived at⁷⁷ Trebisond, a Greek city, and keeping near the sea-shore, marched, all that were able, to Cotyora.

And here Xenophon puts an end to his journey ; making this the conclusion of the *Kataλaσις* (Retreat) as the place of battle was of the *Αναλaσις* (Expedition). The reason of this is, because they afterwards sailed much the greatest part of their way to Greece.

Xenophon himself says, that from the field of battle, in Babylonia, to Cotyora, they made eight months ; and in the conclusion he informs us, that the whole expedition and retreat took up 15 months. Now whoever will be at the pains to compute the marches and halts from Sardes to the battle, will find them to amount to exactly six months ; but as

Xenophon begins the expedition from Ephesus, we should reckon the time from the same place. Therefore, allowing something for their march to and stay at Sardes; their ⁷⁸ consulting, and passing the Cilician mountains; their ⁷⁹ stay and quarrel at Carmande; and the ⁸⁰ affair of Orontas (where the soothsayer's ten days plainly shew the time not accounted for): I say, allowing for these, as Xenophon has said nothing about their continuance, we cannot think a month too long a time for them all: which will make just 15 months from their departure from Ephesus to their arrival at ⁸¹ Cotyora. Our author, placing this account at the end of his book, has induced all the learned men I can meet with to suppose, that the whole of their transactions, from their first setting out, to their joining of Thimbron, took up no more than 15 months. This has introduced still a worse mistake, by misplacing the year of the expedition in all the chronological tables. Diodorus Siculus places the expedition in the last of the 94th Olympiad; and Thimbron's passing over into Asia, to make war upon Tissaphernes, in the first of the 95th Olympiad, and all have followed him, as far as I can perceive, without examining into the affair. However, it is most certain, that from their departure under Cyrus, to their junction with Thimbron, was very near, if not quite, two full years; and consequently that the year of the expedition ought to be fixed in the third of the 94th Olympiad, and this will account for the chasm or non-action which Mr. Spelman has ⁸² discovered in Diodorus, that year. In order to make out what I advance, I reckon up the time thus, viz.

	Months.
From Ephesus to the battle,	7
From the battle to Cotyora,	8
From their arrival at Cotyora, to their joining Seuthes (upon a moderate computation), . .	6
Serve under Seuthes,	2
From their leaving Seuthes, to their joining Thimbron, must be near	2
	25

The two months they served under Seuthes were in the middle of winter (suppose December and January), which is the only mention of the season of the year in the whole book. From hence we may gather, that the battle was fought about the latter end of September; that they were in snows of Armenia about the beginning of January, came to Trebisonde towards the end of February, and arrived at Cotyora about the beginning of June. They set out from hence towards the latter end of July, joined Seuthes at the end of November, and were incorporated with the troops under Thimbron, the March following, two full years from their first departure from Ephesus, to serve under Cyrus. The Greeks, it is well known, began their year from the⁸³ summer solstice. Therefore, as this army returned when Thimbron passed over into Asia (as is plain from Xenophon), that is, in the spring of the first of the 95th Olympiad; so it is apparent that Cyrus mustered his forces and departed from Sardes in the spring of the third of the 94th Olympiad; which was two years before their junction with the Lacedæmonian general. Archbishop Usher plainly saw

some difficulty in this particular ; for, in repeating Xenophon's words, where he tells us, they were eight months from the battle to Cotyora, this learned prelate says, ⁸⁴ " It ought to be five, as the course of the history afterwards requires ;" meaning, without doubt, that out of the fifteen months mentioned by Xenophon, at the end of the book, some time ought to be allowed for their transactions between their arrival at Cotyora, and their joining the Lacedæmonians. But, with all due respect be it spoken, three months is not sufficient for this by a great deal : for instance, they staid at Cotyora forty-five days, and served under Seuthes two months, besides a very considerable train of actions both before and after ; all of which together could not, according to my computation, take up much less than ten months. But further, if we collect the days from the field of battle, to their arrival at Cotyora, as they lie scattered in Xenophon, we shall find more than seven months accounted for, besides two or three places where time is not strictly mentioned ; which plainly shews that no error can be crept into the text ; but that eight months was the time they spent in this march.

It is true, indeed, that the battle was fought in the 4th of the 94th Olympiad ; but then it was in the beginning of it ; whereas, Diodorus affirms, that Cyrus ⁸⁵ hired his mercenaries, sent to the Lacedæmonians for assistance, mustered his army at Sardes, and began his march this same year (⁸⁶ supposing, without doubt, that they spent but 15 months in the whole of their travels) ; all which, as I think I have proved beyond all contradiction, ought to be placed

in the third of the 94th Olympiad, Micion being archon of Athens.

At Cotyora they took shipping, and sailed to Harinene, a port near Sinope; and from thence to Heraclea. In this second trip, Xenophon informs us, that they saw the mouths of several rivers: first, that of the Thermodon, then of the Halys, and, after this, that of the Parthenius; whereas it is most certain, that the Thermodon and Halys are a great way on the other side of Sinope, and consequently, Xenophon must have seen the mouths of them in the former run, that is, from Cotyora to Harmene. This will render what I hinted at above very probable, viz. that our author kept no regular journal of this expedition; for, if he had, where could he have more leisure to write than on board, where he could have nothing else to do, there being pilots to steer the course, and sailors to manage the ships?

It is evident, from the digression in the Fifth Book ⁸⁷ about Diana's offering, that our author did not write ⁸⁸ this history in its present form, till several years after his return from the Expedition: for he there makes mention of his sons' going a hunting; whereas it is pretty plain that at the time we are speaking of, ⁸⁹ he had no children. He staid in Asia, with the troops, till Agesilaus was recalled, and after the battle of Chonorea he retired to Scilus. This battle was fought in the 2d of the 96th Olympiad, near five years after his return from the Expedition. In this interval he married and had two sons; and when these were grown up, which we must suppose would take up about twenty years, ⁹⁰ he wrote this account of the transactions of the

Greeks in Upper Asia. So that if some trivial matters have split his memory, it is not at all to be wondered at, since it was penned so many years after the affairs it mentions were transacted.

And here I cannot forbear to express some doubt, concerning our author's age at the time we are treating of. Diogenes Laertius affirms that he died in the 1st of the 105th Olympiad; and Lucian, that he lived to be upwards of 90 years of age. So, when he accompanied Cyrus into Asia, he must be at least 51: which to me seems quite irreconcilable with the account he gives us of himself. When their commanders were all destroyed, the Greeks were under great anxiety, as being in the heart of the Persian empire, in the neighbourhood of a great army, and all their best officers murdered. The army was so dispirited, that no one seemed to take any care for its preservation. Xenophon, revolving these things in his mind, says to himself, ⁹¹ "Do I stay for the arrival of a general from Greece to take the command upon him? Or do I wait for years to accomplish myself? But I shall in vain hope to grow older, if I this day surrender myself up to the enemy." He therefore immediately calls up the captains who had served under his friend Proxenus, and proposes the election of officers in the room of those that were put to death; and concludes his speech, with saying, that if they should choose him for their commander, "he would not excuse himself by reason of his age." These two passages, compared with Phalinus calling him BOY ⁹² in the second book, and his taking notice of himself frequently as the youngest officer, do almost prevail upon me to think,

that he was no more than 23 or 24 years of age; his beard not fully grown, and therefore he might with some propriety be called BOY. Proxenus was but 30 when put to death, and consequently we must suppose Xenophon to be less, when he talks of excusing his age to the officers who served under Proxenus; else what he said must have been looked upon as a banter upon the years of his friend, and upon the men who served under such a boy. It may be answered, that as the Athenians never pressed men into their armies, who were above the age of 40, so Xenophon might say he would not refuse the command by pleading this custom: but this will be found to square but very indifferently with all the other particulars; for had he been upwards of 50, he had been older than Clearchus,⁹³ whom all the rest submitted to of course, and consequently can never be supposed to be the youngest commander, when new ones were chosen. Besides, it is not credible, that a man would go volunteer in such an expedition as this, that is, to march 1200 miles into an enemy's country, and then, when a command was offered him, talk of refusing it upon the account of his advanced age. And though the Athenians did exempt men from forced service at the age of 40, yet this was only with respect to the common soldiers: their generals were not thought the worse for being above that age. I think I may leave it to all the world to judge, whether it would not be ridiculous in any general to talk of resigning upon account of his age at 51; especially when he was affirming upon every occasion, that he was one of the youngest officers in the army.

I cannot take my leave without pointing out a very considerable error in Arbuthnot's tables, which has misled Mr. Spelman in reducing the Greek to the English measures at the end of the book; for who could have any suspicion of the correctness of a work, which, it is supposed, was overlooked by some of the greatest geniuses in Europe? These tables make the Greek foot somewhat larger than the English foot: the pace to contain five feet English, and yet the stadium to contain but 100 paces, four feet four and a half inches; so that 600 Greek feet are not equal to 505 English feet: and so the *μῖλιον*, which contains 4800 Greek feet, is made equal to 805 paces 5 feet, that is, 4030 English feet. This error arises from computing by the fathom instead of the pace; and if this mistake be rectified in the next edition, the tables will be correct for any thing I know at present to the contrary. The surest way of reducing the ancient measures to those of the moderns, is to keep in mind the true proportion of their respective feet. Thus 960 Greek feet are equal to 967 English, and therefore the 34,650 stadia, contained in the whole expedition and return of this army, will, when reduced to our measures, amount to 3966 miles. The Greek mile, or *μῖλιον*, is less than an English mile by 445 English feet. An English mile contains 5241 Greek feet.

R. FORSTER.

I cannot take my leave without pointing out a very considerable error in Arbutnot's tables, which has misled Mr. Speiser in reducing the Greek to the English measures at the end of the book; for who could have any suspicion of the correctness of a work, which, it is supposed, was overlooked by some of the greatest geniuses in Europe? These tables make the Greek foot somewhat larger than the English foot: the pace to contain five feet English, and yet the stadium to contain but 100 paces, four feet four and a half inches; so that 600 Greek feet are not equal to 505 English feet; and so the paces, which contain 4800 Greek feet, is made equal to 805 paces 5 feet, that is, 4030 English feet. This error arises from computing by the fathom instead of the pace; and if this mistake be rectified in the next edition, the tables will be correct for any thing I know at present to the contrary. The surest way of reducing the ancient measures to those of the moderns, is to keep in mind the true proportion of their respective feet. Thus 600 Greek feet are equal to 967 English; and therefore the 34,650 stadia contained in the whole expedition and return of this army, will, when reduced to our measures, amount to 3906 miles. The Greek mile, or *peras*, is less than an English mile by 445 English feet. An English mile contains 3241 Greek feet.

H. FORSTER.

A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.
FROM THE
DISSERTATION

A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

I SHALL take this opportunity to consider what the learned and polite author of the History of Heaven has advanced upon the subject of the Argonautic Expedition; he contends, it seems, that it is all a fiction; his reasons are these: he begins by proving, from Herodotus and Strabo, that the Colchians, who are supposed to have been the possessors of the Golden Fleece, were a colony of the Egyptians, and that, like them, they were famous for their linen manufacture, which drew the Greeks to Colchis, in order to traffic with them: upon this foundation that gentleman builds the following system; he supposes that, when the Colchians were to be summoned to leave their fishing for gold, with fleeces, in the river Phasis, in order to apply themselves to their linen manufacture, they put a shuttle into the hands of Isis, and because ארגונאטון *Argonatoun* signifies, in Hebrew, "the manufacture of linen," he concludes that the Greek merchants, who were at Colchis, called this shuttle, from the resemblance which it has to a ship,

Argonaus. He goes on, and says that *ישון jashon*, signifies, in Hebrew, “to sleep,” and *מדה mideh*, “a measure;” and that, when the Colchians were summoned to leave fishing for gold, with their fleeces, and apply themselves to their linen manufacture, they were obliged to watch great part of the night, and, consequently, their sleep was regulated; from whence he infers, that the Greeks, hearing the words *jashon* and *mideh* often pronounced by the Colchians, framed the fable of the ship Argo, Jason, Medea, and the Golden Fleece. This is the system of that learned gentleman, which, I am apt to believe, will hardly find so great success in the world as all the rest of that author’s writings have deservedly met with. I am very willing to allow that the Colchians were a colony of the Ægyptians, and that, according to the testimony of Herodotus, they spoke the same language, and had the same religion, the same laws, the same customs, and the same manufactures, particularly that of linen. But is an affinity between some Hebrew words, and the names of *Argonaut*, *Jason*, and *Medea* a sufficient authority to overthrow an expedition supported by the concurrent testimony of all ancient authors, both Greeks and Romans, poets, and historians? But this affinity will still have less weight, when it is considered that the language the Colchians spoke, being, with great reason, supposed, by this gentleman, to be the Ægyptian, an affinity between the Hebrew words, and those names, will be no proof of what is contended for, unless an affinity between the Ægyptian and Hebrew languages be first established: but that is a task not easy to be performed,

since the Ægyptian language is so far lost, that not one letter of it has escaped : there are, indeed, some few Ægyptian words to be met with in the Greek and Latin authors, but then they are written in the characters of the language those authors writ in ; but even these few words contradict the supposition of that affinity between the Ægyptian and Hebrew languages : as, for example, Pliny tells us that *Obeliscus* signifies, in Ægyptian, “ a ray of the sun,” which is very probable, because their obelisks were dedicated to the sun, whereas, in Hebrew, קֶרֶן *Kran* signifies “ a ray of the sun.” But the author, of all others, who will furnish us with most materials for this purpose, is Diodorus Siculus, from whom I shall take some passages, which will evidently shew that the supposition of an affinity between the Ægyptian and Hebrew languages, which is the point laboured throughout by the author of the History of Heaven, is without foundation. Diodorus tells us that the two foremost of the long catalogue of divinities, adored by the Ægyptians, were the sun and moon, worshipped by them under the well-known names of Osiris and Isis, and that the first is an Ægyptian word, which, being translated into the Greek language, signifies πολυοφθαλμος, “ many-eyed :” this word is not, I believe, to be met with in the sacred writings, but רַב *rab*, in Hebrew, signifies “ many,” and עֵין *ngin* “ an eye,” neither of which has the least affinity to the Ægyptian word *Osiris* : the same author tells us that *Isis* is an Ægyptian word also, which, being translated into Greek, signifies παλαια “ old ;” this, in Hebrew, is זָקֵן *zeken* : here again there is not the least shadow of an affinity. The same

author says that *Athena*, the Ægyptian Pallas, is also an Ægyptian word, signifying, in Greek, ἀηρ “the air,” the sky, or visible heaven; so that he very justly gathers that the epithet γλαυκωπις “blue-eyed,” was much more applicable to Pallas from that sense of the word, than because she was supposed by the Greeks, to have blue eyes. In Hebrew, “the sky” is שָׁמַיִם *shamaim*. Here again there is no pretence to any affinity between the two languages. Towards the end of the first book, the same author observes that *Charon* in Ægyptian, signifies πλωρσεύς in Greek, “a pilot,” from whence he says the Greeks took the name of their imaginary ferryman, as they took the fable of his carrying over the souls of the departed, and of their trials before the three infernal judges, from the real trial which all the deceased, among the Ægyptians, underwent, before they were suffered to be honoured with funeral rites. Upon this occasion, Diodorus Siculus, with great reason, complains that the Greeks, by turning this practice of the Ægyptians into a fable, have defeated the end of its institution; for, he says, the fictions, propagated by their poets, of the rewards of the virtuous, and of the punishments of the wicked, instead of promoting a reformation of manners, are laughed at by ill men, and received with general contempt; whereas, among the Ægyptians, the punishments of the wicked, and the rewards of the virtuous, being not fictitious, but visible to all the world, and the daily subject of honour or infamy to the families of both, are, of all others, the greatest incitement to virtue. Now the Hebrew word for a pilot is חֹבֵל *Hhoble*, which is far enough from *Charon*. The last

Egyptian word I shall make use of, shall be from Herodotus, who says that, in the Ægyptian language, crocodiles are called *Champsæ*, καλεονται δε, ε κροκοδειλοι, αλλα χαμψαι. I am sensible there is some diversity of opinions concerning the sea-monster, called in the book of Job, לִיָּתָן *Levithan*; however, there is little room to doubt of its being a crocodile, which opinion is supported by Bochart, who proves it by a passage of the Thalmud, where it is said that the כלבית *Calbith*, or the Ichneumon, as he calls it, is the terror of the Leviathan. But the description of it, in the book of Job, will, I believe, be found to be applicable to no other animal. “Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish-spears? Behold the hope of catching him is vain: shall not a man be cast down even at the sight of him? None is so fierce that dare stir him up.—Who can open the doors of his face? His teeth are terrible round about. His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal; one so near to another that no air can come between them; they are joined one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sundered. When he sneezes, the light flashes, and his eyes are like the eye-lids of the morning.---When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid.---The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the spear, the dart, or the breastplate. He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood.” After this description of the fierceness of the Leviathan, and of his offensive and defensive weapons, I am surprised that it should ever have been taken for the whale, which is a creature terrible in nothing but his bulk, and of a sluggish, rather

than a fierce disposition. Now, it is certain that no two words can be, in all respects, more distant from one another, than *Leviathan* and *Champsæ*: and, indeed, how should the Ægyptian language have any resemblance to any other, when, if the account given by Herodotus is to be depended on, the Ionians and Carians, who assisted Psammitichus in destroying his brother kings, being eleven in number, were the first persons, speaking a different language, who ever settled in Ægypt, *πρωτοι γαρ ετοι (Ιωνες τε και Καρες) εν Αιγυπτω αλλογλωσσοι κατοικισθησαν*. From this settlement of the Ionians and Carians in Ægypt, Herodotus dates the beginning of the intercourse between the Ægyptians and the Greeks; and, very probably, their intercourse with the Phœnicians began soon after, from whom possibly, they may have taken some terms relating to commerce, and to some other things they might have learned from them, which, from the affinity between the Phœnician and Hebrew languages, may have some distant resemblance to a few terms of the latter. There are a few more Ægyptian words to be met with in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, which have no more affinity with the Hebrew, than those I have mentioned; it is possible the Chinese language may, for some reasons that do not belong to this subject, be found to have more affinity with that of the Ægyptians. But, if the concurrent testimony of so many authors is not thought sufficient to establish the reality of the Argonautic Expedition, we must call in the assistance of the stars to support it; half the sphere is peopled with Argonauts, or furnished with something relating to them; no wonder, when

either Chiron, the master of Jason, or Musæus, one of the Argonauts, was the first inventor of it, and adorned it with asterisms. There is the golden ram, the ensign of the vessel in which Phryxus fled to Colchis; the bull with brazen hoofs tamed by Jason; and the twins, Castor and Pollux, two of the Argonauts, with the swan of Leda, their mother. There is the ship Argo, and Hydrus the watchful dragon, with Medea's cup, and a raven upon its carcase, the symbol of death. There is Chiron the master of Jason with his altar and sacrifice. There is the Argonaut Hercules with his dart, and the vulture falling down; and the dragon, crab, and lion, which he slew; and the harp of the Argonaut Orpheus. But, it may be said that the Argonautic Expedition is as fictitious as the asterisms by which it is delineated. However, the position of the Æquinoxes, and Solstices, in relation to those asterisms, at the time of that expedition, is not fictitious; and we know that those four cardinal points then answered to the middle, that is the 15th degrees, of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn; this position, I say, is not fictitious, any more than the retrogradation of the Æquinoxes, and Solstices, not after the rate of 100 years to a degree, as Hipparchus, and the Greek astronomers thought, but after the rate of 72 only, as the modern philosophers have discovered: the cause of which retrogradation, or, to speak in the language of the astronomers, of which precession of the Æquinoxes, was unknown to all of them, till Sir Isaac Newton, by that amazing sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and which gave him so visible a superiority over all

other philosophers of all nations, and all ages, not only discovered, but clearly demonstrated, that it is owing to the broad spheroidical figure of the earth, and that this figure arises from the rotation of the earth round its axis. It will, I believe, be thought strange that such a cloud of authorities should be dispelled by the single breath of one man, supported by no other arguments than a strained analogy between three or four Hebrew words, and the names of Argonaut, Jason, and Medea. I shall end this long, and, I fear, tedious note with declaring that, though I have the misfortune of differing in opinion with the author of the History of Heaven upon this occasion, yet I have all the deference in the world both for his learning, and his polite manner of communicating it to the public, and all possible gratitude for the pleasure and instruction I have had in reading his works.

NOTES.

NOTES.

INTRODUCTION.

¹ The words of the Arundel Marble are these:

ΑΦ' ὃ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ μετὰ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ
ἔΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕ ΒΙΟΣ ΕΤΗΓΔΔΔΕΘΗ ΗΔΔΔΠΗ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΛΑΧΗΤΟΣ.

BOOK I.

¹ D'Ablancourt has thought fit to change the title given by Xenophon to his history, and, instead of *The Expedition of Cyrus*, to call it, *La Retraite des Dix Mille*: the reason he gives for it is this; he says, Things ought to derive their name from that which is most remarkable in them, and that the Expedition is nothing in comparison to the Retreat. I own this reason does not persuade me; whatever weight it ought to have had with the author, I think it should have none with a translator.

² *Ἀναβάσεως*. Every one who is conversant with the Greek authors, knows, that whenever they speak not only of military expeditions, but even of journeys undertaken by private persons from the Lesser Asia to Babylon or Susa, the residence of the Persian kings, they use the word *ἀναβαίνειν*: the same word came afterwards to be applied to the city of Rome, though more rarely. Arrian, who in his Expedition of Alexander, has followed our author, not only in the distribution of his work into seven books, but in his style, as far as he was able, has also copied him in his title, calling his history also *ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου*. Hutchinson thinks that the rivers of that part of Asia in question, falling into the Ægean and Mediterranean seas, gave occasion to these terms *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν*; but it is certain that almost all the great rivers of

that part of Asia run either to the north or south, as the Halys, the Iris, the Thermodon, the Tigris, and the Euphrates.

³ Δαρείω καὶ Παρυσάτιδος, &c. This first period is much celebrated by Demetrius Phalareus, as full of dignity and historical simplicity.

⁴ Καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε. D'Ablancourt has visibly mistaken this passage: he makes Darius constitute Cyrus general at his arrival at court, *à sa venue*; whereas it not only appears from this passage, but from history also, that he was actually invested with that employment when he was sent for: I wish the old Latin translation, which says *prætorem designat*, did not lead him into this error: Hutchinson has translated it properly, *præfectum designaverat*. I said that this also appeared from history. Our author, in his account of the affairs of Greece, mentions a letter to have been written by Darius to the people of the Lesser Asia, six years before this Expedition of Cyrus: in this letter Darius gives them notice of his having appointed Cyrus commander in chief of those people who assemble in the plain of Castolus. The words of the letter are these: καταπέμπω Κύρον Κάρανον τῶν εἰς Κασωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ Κάρανόν ἐστι Κύριον.

⁵ Σατράπης, though used both by Latin and Greek authors, is a Persian word, and signifies a commander; a general. Σατράπαι, Αρχηγοὶ, στρατηλάται, Περσικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις. Hesychius. Herodotus says, Darius Hystaspes appointed twenty of these governments, ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο ἑικοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι Σατραπήας.

⁶ Ὀπλίτας. D'Ablancourt excuses himself for not distinguishing these heavy-armed men in his translation; but I do not only think it necessary to distinguish them from the light-armed, but to give some account of their distinction. There are three different kinds of foot-soldiers chiefly mentioned by our author in the course of this history, the Ὀπλίται, the Ψιλοὶ, and the Πελτασται; of whom, and of their respective armour, Arrian gives the following account in his Tactics: τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, says he, ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἀσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρατα, ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ σαρίσσας, ὡς Μακεδόνες. The heavy-armed men have corslets, long shields, and swords, and pikes, like the Greeks, and spears, like the Ma-

cedonians. τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν ἐναντιώτατον ἔχει τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πᾶν, ὅτι περ ἄνευ θώρακος, καὶ ἀσπίδος, καὶ κνημίδος, καὶ κράνους, ἐκηβόλοις τοῖς ὅπλοις διαχρώμενον, τόξεύμασιν, ἢ ἀκοντίοις, ἢ σφενδόναις, ἢ λίθοις ἐκ χειρός. The light-armed men are armed in a quite different manner from the heavy-armed; they have no corslets, or shields, greaves, or helmets, but altogether make use of missive weapons, such as arrows, darts, and stones thrown by slings, and out of the hand. τὸ δὲ πελτασικὸν δὲ κεφώτερον μὲν τυγχάνει ὢν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ· ἡ γὰρ πέλτη, σμικρότερον τῆς ἀσπίδος δὲ ἐλαφρότερον, καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων καὶ σαρισσῶν λειπόμενα, βαρύτερον δὲ τῷ ψιλῷ. The targeteers are armed in a lighter manner than the heavy-armed men, for their bucklers are smaller and lighter than the shields of the latter, and their darts shorter than their pikes and spears; but their armour is heavier than that of the light-armed. These three kinds of foot-soldiers are so often mentioned by Xenophon to have been employed by the Greek generals, and particularly by himself, upon different occasions, according to the difference of their armour and manner of fighting, that I thought it necessary at first to give the reader a clear idea of that difference.

[†] Τισσαφέρην. This is the same Tissaphernes over whom Alcibiades gained so great an ascendant, that he governed him not only in his politics, but in his pleasures. We shall find him in the course of this history at the head of the Persian army, that endeavoured in vain to cut off the retreat of the Greeks. But the treachery he was guilty of in relation to the Greek generals, after they had incautiously put themselves in his hands, must render his name so odious, that it may not be unacceptable to the reader to be informed of his fate after this history leaves him. Agesilaus being sent by the Lacedæmonians at the head of an army into Asia, and having gained many advantages over the Persians, Artaxerxes looked upon Tissaphernes as the cause of the ill success of his arms; and being incensed against him by Parysatis, in revenge for his behaviour to Cyrus, he appointed Tithraustes to succeed him in his government, with orders to cut off his head: this happened in the first year of the 96th Olympiad, that is, about five years after the expedition of Cyrus.

^{*} Βουλευέται ὡς μήποτε ἔτι ἔσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. This is ren-

dered by D'Ablancourt, *il songea aux moyens de se venger de cet affront*, which may be a translation of any other passage as well as of this.

⁹ Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, &c. Leunclavius has translated this passage as if ὑπάρχω signified here εἰμι, in the same sense as Plutarch uses the word, speaking of this very thing, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε μᾶλλον τὸν Κῦρον φιλεῖσα; but every body knows that ὑπαρχω, with a dative case, signifies to favour: Hutchinson has said very properly, *mater a Cyri partibus stetit*. D'Ablancourt has thought fit to leave out this period entirely.

¹⁰ Μιλήτε. A considerable city of Ionia, not far from the mouth of the Mæander: at the time of the Trojan war it was inhabited, according to Homer, by the Carians, whom he mentions among the allies of Troy.

Νάσης αὖ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφῶνων
Οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον.

This town, having revolted from the Persians, at the instigation of Aristagoras, was retaken by them six years after that revolt. About sixty-seven years after the time our author speaks of, Alexander took Miletus, after a brave resistance from the garrison, consisting of three hundred Greeks, then in the service of the king of Persia.

¹¹ Ἠγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Ἀγαμαι, θαυμάζω. Phavorinus. In this sense I have translated it, though I must own I am pleased with what D'Ablancourt says, *Cyrus le gouta*. As Clearchus makes a considerable figure in this expedition, our author has given his character at the end of the second book; but there being some particulars relating to him mentioned in Diodorus Siculus, which are not there taken notice of, I thought the reader might not be displeased to be informed of them, for which reason I have mentioned them in the Introduction.

¹² Δαρεικές. The darick was a Persian gold coin. Suidas, Harpocration, and the Scholiast of Aristophanes, say it was of equal value with the Attic χρυσῆς, or with twenty silver drachms, that is, the 5th part of a silver mine, sixty of which made a talent, which last amounted to 193*l.* 15*s.* sterling; so that 10,000 daricks will make 33 talents and 1-3*d.* or 6458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of our money. On the reverse of this coin was an archer, which gave occasion to Agesilaus to say, that he was

driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many daricks distributed among the Greek cities by the king of Persia. The authors before mentioned inform us, that this coin did not derive its name from Darius, the father to Xerxes, but from another more ancient king: who that should be, is not so well understood, since Darius Hystaspes, the father to Xerxes, and one of the seven Persian noblemen who put the Magi to death, was the first Persian king of that name. I am sensible Prideaux is of opinion, that Cyaxares, brother to Mandane, and uncle to the first Cyrus, is Darius the Mede mentioned by Daniel, from whom, he says, this coin took its name, and who caused it to be struck at Babylon during the two years he reigned there; but Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, mentions some of this coin to have been found, among other riches, by Cyrus, in a castle belonging to Gobryas, even before the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians. Sir Isaac Newton thinks that Darius the Mede, when he and Cyrus took Sardis, melted down all the Lydian money he found there, and re-coined it with his own effigies. But Xenophon speaks of daricks upon the occasion already mentioned, even before the taking of Sardis, which preceded that of Babylon. It is not possible this could have escaped a man, to whom nothing either in history or nature was unknown; it is much more probable that he looked upon it as an anticipation in Xenophon, which opinion, I find, prevails with some learned men. There is, however, a passage in Herodotus, in Melpomene, which almost inclines one to think, that Darius Hystaspes was the author of this coin, notwithstanding what Suidas, Harpocration, and the Scholiast of Aristophanes say to the contrary; he says there, that Darius Hystaspes refined gold to all the pureness that was possible, and coined it into money, Δαρειῶν μὲν χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας εἰς τὸ δυναλώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο. Now it is certain that all authors celebrate the daricks for the fineness of the gold; and a few lines before, the same author says, Darius did this with a view of leaving behind him such a monument as no other king had done, μνημόσυνον ἐωϋτῷ λιπέσθαι τῷτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλεῖ κατεργασμένον.

¹³ Ξένος. Ξένος καλεῖται ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος, και ὁ ὑποδεχθεῖς. Phavorinus. In the same manner *hospes*, every one knows, has both an active and passive signification. These rights of hos-

pitality were of ancient date, and of so sacred a nature, that Jupiter himself was thought to preside over them, and to punish the violations committed against them; for which reason he was called *Ξένιος*: with whom Ulysses in Homer endeavours, to very little purpose, to threaten Polypheme.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
Ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

This tradition Virgil has, among many others, transplanted into his *Æneid*; where the unhappy Dido, when she first entertained her Trojan guest, implores the favour of Jupiter:

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Pliny has translated *Ξένιος*, *hospitalis*, in the account he gives of a statue of Jupiter under that denomination; this statue was the work of Pamphilus, a disciple of Praxiteles, and to be seen in the collection of Asinius Pollio. The same word signifies mercenaries a little lower, whence comes *ξενιτεύεσθαι, μισθοφορεῖν, ξένοι δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι.* Harpocraton.

¹⁴ *Συμβουλευσῆται.* The difference between *συμβουλευεσθαι* and *συμβλεύειν* appears very particularly from a passage in Herodotus in Polyhymnia, *συμβλευομένην τε ἂν συμβλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα*; where the former signifies to ask advice, and the latter to give it.

¹⁵ *Πεισίδας.* The Pisidians inhabited the mountainous part of Asia Minor, which lies between the Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, to whom they were very troublesome neighbours.

¹⁶ *ὑποσχόμενός* αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπραΰξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν, &c. This sentence is thus translated by D'Ablancourt, *avec assurance de ne plus faire d'entreprise avant leur rétablissement*, which is so apparently foreign from the author's sense, that it is unnecessary to make any observations upon it.

¹⁷ *Γυμνήτας.* These are the same with *ψιλοὶ*, mentioned in the fifth annotation.

¹⁸ *Σάρδεις.* Sardis was the capital of Lydia, and the seat of its kings: the first, Cyrus took after a siege of fourteen days, and in it Cræsus, after he had reigned as many years. It was afterwards set on fire by the Ionians, and with it the temple of the goddess Cybele; which was the pretence afterwards

made use of by Xerxes for burning the temples of the Greeks.

¹⁹ Ὡς βασιλέα. Ὡς is frequently used by the Attic writers for πρὸς, which possibly may be understood. In this sense it is employed in the first of those two verses which Pompey repeated, when he put himself in the hands of Ptolemy, king of Egypt.

Ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
ῥκεῖνέσι δέσλος κ' ἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

²⁰ Τὸν Κύρβ σόλον. Στόλος καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν σράτευμα. Suidas. καὶ ἡ διὰ γῆς πορεία. Phavorinus. The author first mentioned quotes a passage out of Arrian, in which σόλος is taken in the same sense our author uses it in this place. Σποράκις μαθὼν τὸν σόλον βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῆ ἐπικράτειαν γινόμενον, ἔφυγε.

²¹ Σταθμὲς τρεῖς. I have said three days' march, in the same manner as the Roman authors say, *tertiis castris*, without any regard to the particular distance from one place to another, but only to the motion of the army. In this I am confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, who, speaking of the march of the Greek army in their retreat through the country of the Mosynœcians, explains ὀκτὼ σταθμῆς, mentioned by our author upon that occasion, by ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτώ.

²² Παρασάγγας. Παρασάγγης, μέτρον ὁδῆς τριάκοντα σταδίους ἔχον. Hesychius. Herodotus says the same thing. On the other hand, Strabo says, some make it sixty, others thirty or forty stadia. But this may, in some degree, be reconciled by the Etymological Lexicon, which explains it thus, παρασάγγαι, τριάκοντα στάδια παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ἑξήκοντα: so that the parasanga was thirty stadia among the Persians, and sixty among the Egyptians; but as the march of the Greek army, described by our author, lay through Persia, there can be no doubt but he followed their account. It may not be improper to observe, that a stadium contains one hundred ὀργυιαί, or fathoms—στάδιον ὀργυιαί ἑκατὸν, Phavorinus—that is, 600 feet, ὀργυιά being, according to the same author, ἡ ἑκτασις τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ πλάτει σῆθες, that is, a fathom. I know very well that the Greek foot contained ,0875 decimals more than an English foot; so that whoever has a mind to be exact, must compute according to that fraction. As the parasanga,

stadium, and plethrum are frequently mentioned in the course of this history, I thought it proper to explain them at first, that we may have done with them; the plethrum has not yet been taken notice of; Suidas says, it contains one hundred feet, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πλέθρον πόδας ρ'; or, as both he and Phavorinus affirm, together with the Greek Scholiast upon this passage of Homer, where he speaks of Tityus

—————'Ο δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,

Τὸ τῆς σταδίου ἕκτον μέρος; the sixth part of a stadium, that is, one hundred feet. As the Latin tongue has no word to express πλέθρον in this sense, with accuracy, *jugerum* signifying a square measure (though I am sensible the poets use it also for πλέθρον), the Latin translators have thought themselves under a necessity of using the word plethrum: I hope I shall also be allowed to use the words parasanga, stadium, and plethrum, after having explained them.

²³ Παράδεισος. This word is, no doubt, of Persian original, and, like many other Persian words, as Julius Pollux says, commonly used by the Greeks. These parks, planted with stately forest and fruit trees of every kind, well watered, and stocked with plenty of wild beasts, were very deservedly in great request among the Persians. Plutarch tells us, that Tissaphernes, to shew his opinion of the elegance of Alcibiades's taste, gave this name to that which belonged to him. The ecclesiastical writers, after St. Jerome, have thought fit to translate the Garden of Eden in Moses, *Paradisus voluptatis*; and the Septuagint ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, making Eden an appellative, though they oftener make it a proper name. The English translation says, the Garden of Eden, which agrees with the Hebrew.

²⁴ Μεγάλη βασιλέως. This is the title given by all the Greek authors to the king of Persia, which is preserved to the successors of Mahomet in that of the Grand Seignor.

²⁵ Περὶ σοφίας. Hutchinson has proved, from several authorities, that σοφία, in this place, signifies skill in music, rather than wisdom.

²⁶ Πελτασταί. Here πελτασταὶ seems to be taken in a comprehensive sense, and to include all those who were not heavy-armed men.

²⁷ Τὰ Λύκαια. This was an Arcadian sacrifice, instituted in honour of Pan, and brought by Evander into Italy, when he, with his followers, settled upon the Palatine Hill. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from whom I have this, adds, that after the sacrifice was over, the priests ran through the streets naked all but their middle, which was covered with the skins of the victims newly sacrificed; this sacrifice, he says, continued to his time, which is confirmed by Dion Cassius and Plutarch. Virgil has taken notice of this circumstance of the Lupercalian priests running naked, among the other points of history with which the shield of Æneas is embellished;

Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cœlo
Extuderat.

²⁸ Στλεγγίδες. In Latin, *strigiles*. They were instruments used in bathing, both by the Greeks and Romans; with these they scraped their bodies. D'Ablancourt has rendered it *des etrilles d'or*, for which he makes an excuse: the best I can make for the word I have made use of is, that I know no other.

²⁹ Καῦστος πεδῖον. D'Ablancourt suspects this passage to be corrupted: but Hutchinson says, this plain may very probably have given name to the city.

³⁰ Ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. The custom of attending at the door of the kings of Persia, was introduced by the first Cyrus, as we find in the Cyropædia, ἔγω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιῶσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες· θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. It was in use in the time of Herodotus and Xenophon, and continued as long as the Persian empire. This compliment was paid to the satrapes as well as to the kings. It is possible the name of the Port, given to the court of the Grand Seignor, was derived from hence, rather than from the great gate leading to the seraglio, as is generally thought.

³¹ Θύμβριον. A town of Phrygia.

³² Θηρεῦσαι. I have translated this in the same manner as if our author had said λαβεῖν, which is the word made use of by Maximus Tyrius, speaking of this adventure; λαμβάνει τὸν Σάτυρον κεράσας οἶνω κρήνην. For this reason I am of

opinion, that *satyrum venatus* is not so proper in Leunclavius and Hutchinson.

³³ Ἐπὶ τετλάρων. This is what Arrian, in his *Tactics*, calls τὴν τάξιν ἐκτεῖναι ἐπὶ τέσσαρας. Leunclavius and Hutchinson have said, in *quaternis dispositi*, which, I think, signifies rather that they were drawn up in platoons of four men each. D'Ablancourt is much clearer, *à quatre de hauteur*.

³⁴ Κατ' ἵλας, καὶ κατὰ τάξεις. Ἴλη in Greek, and *turma* in Latin, are proper to the horse, as τάξις and *cohors* are to the foot; though I know there are some examples where the two last are applied to the horse also; however, in this place, there can be no doubt but τάξεις signifies companies of foot.

³⁵ Ἀρμαμαξῆς. Plutarch employs this word for a close carriage used by women. D'Ablancourt has not distinguished it in his translation from ἄμαξα.

³⁶ Ἐπεὶ πάντας παρήλασε. This is rendered by D'Ablancourt *après les avoir contempler*.

³⁷ Προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. There is a passage quoted by Suidas out of Demosthenes, in his first *Philippic*, in which προβάλλεσθαι is used in the same sense our author uses it here, προβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ βλέπειν ἐναντίον ἕτε οἶδεν, ἕτε ἐθέλει, where Suidas explains προβάλλεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας by προτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην: so that προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα will be the same with κάθευ τὰ δόρατα, a word of command mentioned by Arrian in his *Tactics*. D'Ablancourt has, I think, said very properly *qu'ils fissent baisser les piques*.

³⁸ Θᾶπλον. I am sensible that θᾶπλον is not always used in a comparative sense; it sometimes, though rarely, signifies no more than ἐνθὺς, ταχέως, as Hesychius explains it: however, it is generally used in the sense I have given it by the Attic writers. Θᾶπλον Ἀττικοί, ταχίον Ἑλληνες. Phavorinus.

³⁹ Φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον. I have never met with the word φοινικιστὴς in any author but Xenophon, or in any Lexicon, ancient or modern, but Hesychius, who quotes this passage without explaining it; so that the readers and translators are left to shift for themselves as well as they can. Leunclavius and Hutchinson have said, *regium purpuræ tinctorem*, which I can by no means approve of, since the king's purple dyer does neither seem to be a proper person to attend Cyrus in a mili-

tary expedition, neither does he appear a proper accomplice in a design of this nature, with so considerable a person as the other is represented. D'Ablancourt has said *maistre de sa garde-robe*: this, indeed, answers the two objections I made to the other interpretation; but I am apt to believe, if Xenophon had designed to denote any particular office, he would have made use of the article, and have said τὸν φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον. H. Stephens has employed a very classical word, *purpuratus*, which answers properly to φοινοῖξ, whence φοινικιστῆς is derived: this is the sense I have given to the word, though I am very far from being fond of it.

⁴⁰ Ἡ δὲ εἰσβολή. This is the pass which Arrian calls τὰς πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας, which Alexander possessed himself of, as he marched into Cilicia to engage Darius. The day before, he encamped in the place, where we now find Cyrus, ἀφικόμενος, says Arrian, ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρῳ τῷ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, where he left Parmenion, when he went himself to attack the pass.

⁴¹ Περιπλεῖσας. Hutchinson very justly observes, that περιπλεῖν is very properly used by Xenophon to describe the course a ship must take from the coast of Ionia to that of Cilicia: but this has not been preserved either in his or Leunclavius's translation, any more than in that of D'Ablancourt.

⁴² Εἶλε. I have followed the conjecture of Muretus, who reads εἶλε instead of εἶδε, in which I am supported by Hutchinson.

⁴³ Σήσαμον. This plant is common in the Levant, and is called by Tournefort, *digitalis orientalis*; of the seed of which they make an oil, that is good to eat, and for several other uses. Panic and millet are so like to one another, that they are scarce to be distinguished but by the manner in which they bring forth their grain, the former bearing it in ears, and the latter in bunches; they both make very bad bread, and are chiefly used to fat fowls. D'Ablancourt has thought fit to render this period by *remplie de toutes sortes de fruits & de grains*; but his reason for it is still more curious than his translation. I was so much entertained with the vivacity of it, that I cannot help transcribing his words: *Je*

l'ay tranché, says he, *en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un detail ennuyeux.*

⁴⁴ Ταρσός. Tarsus, a considerable city of Cilicia, was built by Sardanapalus, who built both that and Anchialus, another city not far from it, in one day; which, though incredible to those who do not consider how many millions of men the Assyrian kings had at their command, is however attested by an Assyrian inscription, which Arrian has translated. This inscription was, it seems, engraved on the monument of this prince, upon which stood his statue, in the attitude of a person who expresses a contempt, with his hands clapped together, or, as Strabo says, I think more probably, by seeming to snap his fingers. The sense of this inscription is so very philosophical, that I cannot omit it, though, at the same time, the phrase is so very libertine, that I shall not translate it. Σαρδανάπαλς ὁ Ανακυνδαράξας παῖς, Αγχίαλον και Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δὲ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε, και πίνε, και παῖζε, ὡς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐκ ὄντα τέττε ἄξια: instead of παῖζε, others read ὄχευε, which Arrian says is the sense of the Assyrian word, and which Plutarch, speaking of this inscription, has rendered by ἀφροδισίαζε.

⁴⁵ Κυδνος. This river rises out of Mount Taurus, and running through a clean country, is remarkable for the coldness and clearness of its stream; this tempted Alexander, after a long and sultry march, to bathe in it, which had like to have put an end both to his life and his victories; but the care of his physician, or the strength of his constitution, soon recovered him, and once more let him loose upon mankind.

⁴⁶ Εξέλιπον, &c. I agree entirely with Hutchinson against Leunclavius and Stephens, that there is no necessity of having recourse to *φυγόντες*, or of any thing of that kind, to perfect this sentence. These aposiopeses are frequent in the Attic writers.

⁴⁷ Σόλοις. This city was afterwards called Pompeiopolis. It was formerly a colony of the Athenians, who forgetting, by length of time, their mother tongue, or at least the grammar of it, spoke a barbarous language, from whom the word *solæcism*, so dreadful in the ears of school-boys, took its name.

⁴⁸ Ἦσαν δὲ ἑτοὶ ἑκατὸν ὀπλῖται. By this passage it seems that their companies consisted of fifty men each.

⁴⁹ Καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι, &c. This period is celebrated by Demetrius Phalareus for the proper placing of this uncommon gift, which, he says, if it had been placed either in the beginning, or in the middle, would have been disagreeable, but is graceful at the close of it.

⁵⁰ Οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα. *Que je n'ay pas emploiez à mes plaisirs*, in D'Ablancourt, does not, I think, come up to the strength of the Greek word; *nec per voluptatem & luxum absumpsi*, in Hutchinson, is far better. Sure this word, which has great energy, was never more properly employed than by Plutarch to Mark Antony's lavishing the most precious thing he could throw away, his time, in the arms of Cleopatra, καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον, where, by the way, Plutarch has taken that fine application of πολυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα to time, from Theophrastus.

⁵¹ Ωφελοῖν αὐτόν. Leunclavius and Hutchinson have said *ut ei commodarem*, which is not only the sense, but elegantly expresses *ut ei commodo essem*; Tully uses the word in the same sense in his Epistles. D'Ablancourt has said *pour payer ses faveurs de quelque service*, which I think, at least, equal to the other.

⁵² Αἰρήσομαι ὃ ἐν ὑμᾶς. αἰρῆμαι, προκρίνω. Phavorinus.

⁵³ Σκευοφόρα. The passage quoted by Hutchinson out of Herodian, which is also quoted by Constantin in his Lexicon, plainly shews, that σκευοφόρα signifies both the carriages and the beasts of burden.

⁵⁴ Χρήματα. This word in this and in many other places in Xenophon, as well as in other good authors, signifies effects rather than money: in this sense it is explained by Hesychius, χρήματα, οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι. κτήματα, βοσκήματα. This explains a passage in Homer, where Eurymachus, one of the suitors, tells Halitherses that if Penelope continues to amuse them,

Χρήματα δ' αὖτε κακῶς βεβρωσεται.

Hutchinson has rendered χρήματα here *bona*, and Leunclavius *opes*, the latter not so properly. D'Ablancourt has said *ceux du païs qu'on avoit pillés*, which, in my opinion, is too general, because it is applicable both to their money and effects: on the other side it is not applicable to the seizing their persons; for I dare say those who are critics in the French lan-

guage will own, that *piller quelqu'un* does not signify to seize a man's person.

⁵⁵ Λυταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύση. This ellipsis is very frequent in Thucydides and Homer; the latter, speaking of the waste made by the wild boar on the lands of Æneus, says, in the same figure,

Πολλὰ δ' ὄγε προδέλυμα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ
 Αυτῇσιν ῥίζησι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρεσι μῆλων.

⁵⁶ Συναναβάντων. This relates to the three hundred Greeks, who, as our author tells us, attended Cyrus to court under the command of Ξένιας of Parrhasie.

⁵⁷ Επιπονωτέρα καὶ ἐπικίνδυνωτέρα. These are the proper characters that distinguish this expedition from the former; however, D'Ablancourt has not taken the least notice of it in his translation.

⁵⁸ Ἰσσός. Hard by stands a town, now called Scanderoon, a place very well known to our Turkey merchants, built by Alexander, in memory of the great victory he obtained there over Darius, whose mother, wife, and children were taken prisoners in the action. The bay called by Strabo κόλπος Ἰσσικός, took its name from this town, and is now called the bay of Scanderoon.

⁵⁹ Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμην, &c. I will not say that ὥρμεῖ is never used to signify a ship that comes to land, but I am sure it is generally applied to a ship that lies at anchor, and that ὥρμίζω is almost universally the word made use of to express the former: the difference between the two words is particularly set forth by Phavorinus, ὥρμέω, says he, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἵσταμαι, ὥρμίζω δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσαγομαι. I will not therefore absolutely say that the French and Latin translators have mistaken this passage, but wish the former, instead of saying *elles vinrent mouïller l'ancre*, had said *elles étoient à l'ancre près de la Tente de Cyrus*; and that the latter, instead of saying *naves propter Cyri Tentorium adpullerant*, had said *in anchoris stabant*.

⁶⁰ Ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. There are two passes upon the mountains that divide Cilicia from Syria, as we find in Pliny, and Tully's Epistles, where the latter gives the reasons why he led the army, which he commanded as pro-consul, into Cappadocia rather than into Cilicia; *duo enim sunt aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria*; one of these is called πύλαι

Αμανικαὶ, by Pliny *portæ Amani montis*, and the other simply *πύλαι*, or, as the last mentioned author calls them, *portæ Ciliciæ*; the former are to the eastward of the latter, which, as we find in this account of Xenophon, lie close to the sea. There is a doubt which of these is meant by our author; but this will be clearly rectified if we look into Arrian, where we shall find Alexander to have taken the same route with Cyrus for a great way, and to have often encamped in the same places. After that prince had passed these *πύλαι*, mentioned by Xenophon, and while he lay with his army at Myriandros, the same place where Cyrus encamped after he had passed them, he received advice that Darius had left his camp at Sochi, within two days' march of the *πύλαι*: and having passed the mountains at the *πύλαι Αμανικαί*, or the eastern pass, was got behind him and marching to Issus. Alexander was pleased to find his enemy had abandoned the advantage of a campaign country, and shut up his numerous army, the chief strength of which consisted in horse, between the mountains and the sea; and marching back, possessed himself again of the *πύλαι* that night: the next day he engaged Darius, and the ground between this pass and Issus was the scene of that memorable victory. This happened in the 4th year of the 111th Olympiad, sixty-eight years after Cyrus marched through Cilicia.

⁶¹ Πέτραι ἡλίβατοι. This expression is very poetical, and often made use of by Homer, whose scholiast explains it in this manner, ἥς ὁ ἥλιος μόνος ἐπιβάλλει, a rock inaccessible to every thing but to the rays of the sun. When Patroclus reproaches Achilles with his cruelty, by suffering the Greeks to be slain in such numbers for want of his assistance, he tells him,

— ἐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατήρ ἦν ἵπποτα Πηλεὺς,
Οὐδὲ θεὸς μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίττε θάλασσα
Πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοὶ νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηγής.

⁶² Εμπορίον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὥρμην αὐτόθι ὀλκᾶδες πολλάι. Here Hutchinson has translated ὥρμην in the manner I have contended for in note 59, pag. xiv. Leunclavius has still adhered to *adpulerant*. D'Ablancourt has left out the whole period in his translation. ὀλκᾶς, παρὰ Θεκυδίδην, ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ναῦς. Suidas.

⁶³ Οἱ δ' ὥκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσειντο. I own I cannot, with the

Latin translators, see the necessity of supplying this sentence with any word in order to complete it; I think the expression elegant, the sense plain, and the eventual commiseration fully pointed out by the conditional particle *ἐἰ*.

⁶⁴ *Ἀποδεδράκασιν*. Ammonius and Phavorinus are quoted upon this occasion by Hutchinson, to shew the difference between *ἀποδράναι* and *ἀποφεύγειν*: the first, say they, signifies *τὸ ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα ἔυδηλον εἶναι ὅπερ ἔστι*, the other *τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι*, and, to support this, the passage now before us in Xenophon is cited by Ammonius. Now I own that, notwithstanding the very great deference which I have, and which every one ought to have, for those two grammarians, and the person who quotes them, yet I cannot help thinking that the very passage they quote destroys the difference they have established; for, if *ἀποδράναι* signifies, as they say, to retire in such a manner that the place of retreat is known, *ἀποδεδράκασι* here must signify the reverse; for Cyrus tells the Greeks that they have *not* retired to a place unknown to him, *ἔδε ἀποδεδράκασι*, because he says he knows whither they are going. Hutchinson himself confirms what I say by his translation, even against his own quotation; for he says *nec clam se aufugisse*, whereas, if the observation of the authors he quotes is just, and that *ἀποδράναι* signifies *ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα ἔυδηλον εἶναι*, he should have translated it *nec palam se aufugisse*. I wish, I do not say for the advantage of the sense, but for the ease of the translator, that Xenophon had said *ἀποδεδράκασι μὲν, ἔκ ἀποπεφεύγασι δὲ*: I should then have translated it, they are fled, but not escaped.

⁶⁵ *Μὰ τὰς Θεάς*. *Μὰ* is a negative asseveration, and *ναὶ* an affirmative one.

⁶⁶ *Ιόντων*. The use of the genitive case plural of the participle is very common with the Attic writers, instead of the third person plural of the imperative mood in the same tense, unless *ἔωσαν*, according to the opinion of some critics, is upon those occasions to be understood. Diogenes Laertius gives a remarkable instance of something like this; it relates to the trial of Socrates, where Plato offering to speak to the judges in defence of his master, began his speech in this manner: *Νεώτατός ὢν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ το βῆμα ἀναβάντων*, upon which the judges interrupted him by calling out *κατα-*

ἔαντων, for κατέβηθι, and made him come down. But the Attic authors are not singular in the use of this phrase: Homer says,

— κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
 Λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

for ἀγειρέτωσαν. This Atticism is often made use of by the best authors.

⁶⁷ Πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων, &c. Lucian, in his treatise of the Syrian goddess, has a passage that will explain this of Xenophon; he says, the Syrians looked upon fish as a sacred thing, and never touched them, and that they eat all birds but pigeons, which they esteemed holy: he adds, these superstitions were owing to their respect for Derceto and Semiramis, the first of whom had the shape of a fish, and the other was changed into a pigeon. That author has affected to write this treatise in the Ionic style: his words are these: ἰχθύας, χρῆμα ἱρὸν νομίζουσι καὶ ἔκοτε ἰχθύων ψάουσιν. καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας σιτέονται, περισεῖρην δὲ μένην ἔσιτέονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσι ἡδε ἱρή. τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα δοκέει αὐτοῖς ποιέεσθαι Δερκετῆς, καὶ Σεμιράμιος ἕνεκα· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετὼ μορφὴν ἰχθύος ἔχει· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι τὸ Σεμιράμιος τέλος εἰς περισεῖρην ἀπίνετο. This tradition is somewhat varied by Diodorus Siculus, who says, that Derceto being brought to bed of Semiramis, threw herself into a lake, and was changed into a fish; for which reason, he says, the Syrians worshipped fish as gods. The same author adds, that Semiramis, when a child, was fed by pigeons, till a person who had the superintendency over the king's herds, took her home to his own house, and called her Semiramis; a name derived, as he says, from pigeons, in the Syrian language; and that this was the occasion of the worship the Syrians paid to pigeons. It may not be improper to acquaint the reader, that the goddess called Derceto by the Greeks, and Atargatis by the Syrians, was looked upon by the last as the mother of Semiramis, and worshipped as a goddess in Bambyce, by them called Magog. Lucian says she was represented in Phœnicia, as a woman to the waist, and from thence as a fish; which made Selden of opinion that Derceto and Dagon, who was also represented in the same manner, were the same divinity, though it is certain that Dagon was looked upon as a god, and Derceto as a goddess.

Had D'Ablancourt considered these matters, he would not have been so hasty in condemning Xenophon of too great credulity; neither would he have thought himself under any obligation of softening, as he calls it, these facts, for fear of corrupting the truth of history: particularly since Diodorus Siculus also says, the fabulous tradition of Derceto being changed into a fish, prevailed so far, that the Syrians, even in his time, abstained from fish, and honoured them as gods.

⁶⁸ Εἰς ζωὴν δεδομέναι, &c. Hutchinson has departed from the text, and, without the authority of any manuscript, has followed Muretus and Jungermannus in reading ζώνην instead of ζωήν. Indeed the passages he has supported this correction with, out of Tully, Plato, and Herodotus, shew plainly that the kings of Persia used to give some particular cities to their queens to find them in girdles, others to find them in necklaces, and others in shoes; so that it cannot be denied but εἰς ζώνην is here very proper: but it is as certain, from those authors he has quoted, and indeed from every author who has treated of the affairs of Persia, that the Persian kings also assigned particular cities to those whom they had a mind to honour, to find them in bread, others to find them in wine, and others in meat, or, as some will have it, in fish. In this manner Artaxerxes Μακρόχειρ distinguished Themistocles, εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, as Plutarch and Thucydides say; so that it is not at all improbable the villages our author here speaks of might be assigned to Parysatis to supply her table: but if the reader prefers ζώνην, it must then be translated, that these villages were given to Parysatis to find her in girdles.

⁶⁹ Θάψακ. Here Darius passed the Euphrates with the broken remains of his army, after his defeat at Issus.

⁷⁰ Πέντε αργυρίῃς μνας. See note 12, page iv.

⁷¹ Απιμεν. Hutchinson has observed, from Stephens, that εἶμι is remarkable among those verbs which the Attic writers use in the present tense instead of the future.

⁷² Ως φίλῃ. I agree with Hutchinson, that this is an ellipsis, and that ὑπὸ, or something like it, is to be understood; without condemning ὑπὸ, I should like παρά full as well; thus Telemachus tells Menelaus in the same phrase,

——— παρὰ σεῖο τυχὼν φιλότῃτος ἀπάσης

"Ερχομαι.

⁷³ Ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι. I make no doubt but what Xenophon says concerning this submission of the Euphrates, was the style of Cyrus's court upon this occasion. It seems that the Euphrates was not indued with the same spirit of prophecy that Horace gives to Nereus; otherwise, like him, he would have cried out *mala ducis avi*, and not have suffered his army to have forded him so easily; a favour he afterwards denied to Alexander, whose success might have given him a better title to it, and who was obliged to pass this river at the same place over two bridges.

⁷⁴ Διὰ τῆς Συρίας. Let not the reader be surprised to find Xenophon mention Syria in Mesopotamia, through which he is now conducting Cyrus; for it appears, both by Pliny and Strabo, that the country lying between Thapsacus and the Scenite Arabians, of whom he will speak presently, was part of Syria.

⁷⁵ Ἀράξην. I never yet could find this river in any other author but Xenophon; I mean, a river called Araxes, that runs through this part of Syria—for every body knows there are rivers of this name in other parts of Asia: so must submit it to the learned, whether this river is the Aboras of Marcellinus, which Strabo calls Ἀβόρρας, and Ptolemy Χαβωρας, and the Arabians Al Chabur.

⁷⁶ Διὰ τῆς Αραβίας. The inhabitants of this part of Arabia are called by Strabo Σκηνίαι Αραβες; they were a vagabond people, and, like most of their countrymen, great robbers. *Nomades, infestioresque Chaldaeorum, Scenitæ*, says Pliny, *a tabernaculis cognominati*: they were afterwards called Saracens, which name Scaliger derives from Saric, which, in Arabic, signifies a robber. Those who have travelled through Asia, will not think this etymology forced.

⁷⁷ Ἀγριοὶ ὄνοι. All authors, both ancient and modern, agree, that wild asses are exceeding swift. Oppian, in his Treatise of Hunting, calls the wild ass αελλοποδην, swift as the wind, an epithet given by Homer to the horses which Jupiter bestowed on the father of Ganymede, to make him some amends for the loss of his son. The wild ass is very different, both in its shape and colour, from the common ass. There is a skin of this animal at the College of Physicians in London; another I have seen, among many other curiosities, natural and artificial, an-

cient and modern, belonging to my neighbour Sir Andrew Fountaine. The first of these is stuffed, and by that the creature appears to have been between twelve and thirteen hands high; the colour of every part about him is composed of white and chesnut stripes; his ears, mane, and tail, like those of a common ass; his forehead is long and thin, his shoulders fine, his back straight, his body full, his hoofs a little bound, his legs perfectly fine; seems a little goose-rumped; his quarters are thin, and lying under him, and his hams bent inward; to these three last shapes he very probably owes his speed. This doctrine I know all sportsmen will not allow; but many observations in sporting have convinced me of its truth. Wild asses were sometimes made use of by the ancients to cover mares, in order to breed mules; but all their authors agree, that the best stallion for that purpose was an ass bred between a wild male ass and a female of the common kind. Pliny tells us also, that the foals of wild asses were called *lalisiones*, and were delicate meat. Wild asses are common in the deserts of Numidia and Lybia, and particularly in Arabia; they are sold at an excessive price when reclaimed, and it is said the kings of Persia have always stables of them. When they are young, their flesh is like that of a hare; and when old, like red venison.

⁷⁸ Στραθολὶ αἱ μεγά'λαι. Ostriches are animals very well known; they are common in Africa, South America, and many parts of the Levant, as Arabia and Mesopotamia, &c. I remember to have seen two that were shewn at London; we were informed they came from Buenos Ayres; they answered the description given of them in books. Their feathers, in so great request for several kinds of ornaments, particularly upon the stage, and anciently in war, *conos galeasque adornantes pennæ*, says Pliny; these, I say, come from their tail and wings, and are generally white. The feather of an ostrich was among the Egyptians the emblem of justice. All authors agree, that in running they assist themselves with their wings, in the manner described by Xenophon. Some have thought that this compound motion, which consists both of flying and running, gave occasion to the fiction of the poetical horse, Pegasus. It is said they eat iron, which is so far true, that in those dissected in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, they

found several pieces of iron-money in them more than half diminished; but this was occasioned by the mutual attrition of those pieces, and not by digestion, for they swallow iron to grind their meat, as other birds swallow pebbles for the same purpose.

⁷⁹ Ωτίδες. Bustards are very well known to sportsmen; we have great numbers of them in Norfolk; they are remarkable for having no more than three claws, like the dotterel, and some few other birds; they are scarce to be approached by any contrivance, as I have been taught by many disappointments; possibly this may be owing to their exquisite sense of hearing, no bird having, in proportion to its size, so large an aperture to convey it. What Xenophon says concerning their short flights, can only be understood of them before they are full grown; for, when they are so, they make flights of five or six miles with great ease. Pliny and Xenophon, like many other people, differ in their taste with relation to bustards; the first calls them *damnatas in Cibis*; the last, we find, commends them.

⁸⁰ Δορκάδες. We have no roe-deer in the south of England. They are common in France, *des chevreuils*: I have often seen them hunted there; they run the foil more than a hare, and hunt shorter; they have great speed, but, as they do not run within themselves, but often tapise, and consequently give frequent views, they seldom stand long even before their hounds. They are vastly less than our fallow deer, and are very good meat, when fat, which seldom happens.

⁸¹ Ονες ἀλέτας. Ονος ὁ ἀνώτερος λίθος τῆς μύλας. Phavorinus. So that ὄνοι ἀλέται signify properly the upper mill-stones.

⁸² Καπίθη. From this passage it appears that the καπίθη held two Attic chœnixes.

⁸³ Ἀλεύρων. Hutchinson has, with great judgment, supported the Greek text against Muretus, who wanted to strike out ἀλεύρων, as signifying the same thing with ἀλφίτων: whereas Phavorinus, from the scholiast of Æschylus, plainly distinguishes ἄλευρα from ἄλφιτα, shewing that the first signifies the flour of wheat, and the other that of barley. Ἄλευρα κυρίως τὰ ἐκ σίτου, ἄλφιτα τὰ ἐκ κριθῶν ἄλευρα. Phavorinus.

⁸⁴ Σιγλος. This was a Persian coin. Hesychius and Pha-

vorinus make it worth eight ὀβολοί, but this passage shews it was worth but seven and a half.

⁸⁵ Οἷολός. The ὀβολός was the sixth part of a drachm; it was called so from its resemblance to a spit. See note 12, page iv. concerning the Greek coins.

⁸⁶ Χοῖνιξ. A dry measure, containing three κοτύλαι, which were equal to one and a half of the ξεσης; the χοῖνιξ contained 49.737 solid inches.

⁸⁷ Κάνδυσ. Κάνδυσ, χιτῶν Περσικός. Suidas. A Persian robe.

⁸⁸ Ἀναξυρίδας. Ἀναξυρίδες were also part of the dress of the old Gauls, according to Diodorus Siculus, who says, they called them Βράκαι, which *Braccæ*, it is certain, gave name to a very considerable part of France, called from thence *Gallia Braccata*, the same with *Gallia Narbonensis*. The French language has retained this word, *Bragues*, which is softened into a more modern one, *Brayes*. I leave it to some profound antiquary, who may be disposed to employ his idle labour in this inquiry, to consider how far this dress, from which Persius calls the Medes, *Medos Braccatos*, and which Ovid calls *Persica Bracca*; how far, I say, this dress, which we find to have been common both to the Persians and Gauls of old, may be a proof of their being descended originally from the same people, that is, the Scythians, who, after they had conquered the Medes, continued masters of that part of Asia for eight and twenty years; particularly since we find in Herodotus, that among the Persians there was a people called Γερμαῖνοι, Germans.

⁸⁹ Πλῆθος. This word signifies quantity in this place, when applied to the country; and number, when applied to the men; it is frequently used, by the best authors, in the first sense as well as the last.

⁹⁰ Ηγόραζον. Somebody has violently provoked Hutchinson, by finding fault with the Scripture writers, for making use of this word in the sense Xenophon uses it upon this occasion. There can be no doubt but ἀγοράζειν is to be found in the best authors in this sense. I remember a passage in Isocrates to Nicocles, which will not only support what I have said, but may well deserve translating; δορεὰς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονος ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν δίδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων. You (men of for-

tune) purchase presents much dearer from those who give, than from those who sell.

⁹¹ *χεδίσαις*. Whenever Homer speaks of the boat which Ulysses built with his own hands, in four days, in Ogygia, Calypso's island, he calls it *σχεδίη*, which is thus explained by the scholiast, *εἰκαίως κατασκευασθεῖσα ναῦς*, a boat built on a sudden; it signifies also an extemporary bridge; in which sense Herodotus applies it to the two bridges of boats over which Xerxes passed the Hellespont. Here Xenophon uses it for a raft (if I may be allowed to make use of that word upon this occasion), made of skins stuffed with hay.

⁹² *Διφθέρας*. This method of passing rivers was formerly much in use; as the soldiers' tents were generally made of skins, instead of canvas, they had always great numbers of them at hand; the tents of the Romans were also made of skins, whence come these phrases, *sub pellibus durare*, and *sub pellibus contineri*, which we find in Livy and Cæsar.—Alexander, in his victorious march through Asia, passed several rivers in this manner, particularly the Oxus, the passage of which is described by Arrian in such a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this description of Xenophon in his eye, which, I think, he explains much better than I can. His words are these: *ξυναγαγὼν ἔν τὰς διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνυν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτε, καὶ καταδῆσαι τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς τῷ μὴ ἐνδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τῷ ὕδατος*.

⁹³ *Τῆς βαλάνου*. The fruit of the palm-tree is properly called dates, of which there is an infinite variety. Of these they make in Persia a wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well. Of this wine Cambyses, when he was in Egypt, sent a hogshead to the king of the Ethiopians, as a present; with this wine, the Egyptians washed their dead bodies before they embalmed them. By the way, I have always thought, that the fruit of a certain palm-tree, described by Pliny, who calls the trees *syagri*, answers exactly to the coconut. This palm-tree, he says, grew in that part of the Lower Egypt which he calls *Chora Alexandriæ*; the description he gives of its fruit is as follows—*Ipsum pomum grande, durum, horridum & a cæteris generibus distans sapore ferino, quem ferme in Apris novimus, evidentissimèque causa est nominis*.

⁹⁴ *Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τῷ παταμῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ κατα-*

σκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν. D'Ablancourt has left out all this in his translation, as he has this parenthesis also, *Kūros δ' ἔπω ἤκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαυνε.*

⁹⁵ Εθετο τὰ ὅπλα. Hutchinson, with great reason, finds fault with Leunclavius for translating this *arma deponebat*, it really signifying the reverse, as he has very properly rendered it, *armis ritè dispositis*, and as Harpocration explains this phrase, *θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα, περιθέμενος, ὀπλισάμενος*; and as Shakspeare has said, according to his custom, more beautifully than any other author, “the powers above put on their instruments.” Not that I imagine Proxenus, when he advanced between Menon and Clearchus, had his armour to put on, but that he ordered his men to stand to their arms, that he might be prepared to prevent their engaging by force, if he could not prevail by fair means. Upon the whole, I look upon it that Proxenus put his men in the same posture into which Eurypylus, in Homer, threw the Greeks, in order to secure the retreat of Ajax, when he was pushed by the Trojans:

οἱ, δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν

Πλησίοι ἔστησαν σάκε ὤμοισι κλίναντες

Δερατ' ἀνασχόμενοι.

D'Ablancourt foresaw the difficulty of this passage, and prudently avoided it by leaving it quite out; a conduct he observed about three lines above, where he also omitted to translate *οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀπορῶντες τῷ πράγματι.*

⁹⁶ Κατὰ χώραν. I own, I cannot agree with Hutchinson that *κατὰ χώραν*, in this place, signifies *suo ordine & loco, ubi arma iter facientium disponi par est*: I think that is rather the signification of *ἐν χώρα*, than of *κατὰ χώραν*, the last implying no more than that a thing remained in the same place it was in before. In this sense Aristophanes says, *ἀλλ' ἔδὲ τὸ βλέμμα αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει*, his look even is not the same. So that a thing may be *κατὰ χώραν*, and not *ἐν χώρα*, in the place it was, and not in the place it ought to be.

⁹⁷ Ο σίβος. I make no doubt but *σίβος* signifies, as Hutchinson has translated it, *ὁδός*: but I hope it will be allowed that it signifies also the print of feet; there being a passage in Homer, in his Hymn to Mercury, which plainly proves that *σίβος* has both these significations, for which reason I shall transcribe it:

ὄφρα μὲν ἐν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθῶδεα χῆρον,
 Ρεῖα μάλ' ἵχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονίῃσιν.
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμαθοῖο μέγαν σῖβον ἐξεπέρησεν,
 Αφρασος γένετ' ὥκα βοῶν σῖβος, ἥδ' ἐκ αὐτῆ
 Χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν.

I hazard an observation, to shew, that our author uses the word here to signify the print of the horses' feet; it is this: The article *ὁ*, before *σῖβος*, seems to me to refer to *ἵχνη ἵππων*, mentioned in the foregoing line.

⁹⁸ Ἀλλά. Ἀλλά is here, as Hutchinson has observed, *παρὰ κελευσικόν*, an exhortative particle; in which sense it is frequently used by Xenophon, and indeed by all authors, particularly by Homer. There is a necessity of so frequent a repetition in this place, that it unavoidably renders the translation disagreeable; the difference in the termination of *ἵππεις* and *ἵππεῦσι*, and in the Latin of *equites* and *equitibus*, makes the reader insensible of this repetition; this is one disadvantage, among many others, to which a literal translation, in a modern language, is subject. D'Ablancourt always avoids these repetitions, and every thing else that lays him under any restraint, whatever violence he may do to the author's sense; it must be owned, his method gives a translation the air of an original, but then it often makes it one.

⁹⁹ Τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτά. We often find a council of seven mentioned by the writers, who treat of the affairs of Persia; which council seems to have been instituted in memory of the seven Persian noblemen, who put the Magi to death: of whom Darius Hystaspes, afterwards king of Persia, was one.

¹⁰⁰ Τὴν κρίσιν τῷ Ορόντῃ. Sure, *comme le procès d'Oronte avoit été jugé*, would have been as proper a translation of these words, as *comme la chose s'étoit passée*, in D'Ablancourt.

¹⁰¹ Τῷτον γὰρ. Γὰρ in this place is not designed to introduce a reason for what precedes, but to enforce what follows, as in Homer,

Αὐτήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ δ' ἄνδρῳ, ὃφρα δαείω,
 Οἷσις δ' ἐκ κρατέει.

D'Ablancourt has rendered *ὑπήκοον ἐμοὶ εἶναι*, in the same sentence, *pour m'accompagner*.

¹⁰² Ἐπεὶ δέ. I have translated this as if Xenophon had said

ἔπειτα δὲ, in which sense ἐπεὶ δὲ seems to answer better to πρῶτον μὲν. Hutchinson has said *posteaquam*, which has no relation to *primum*. I think *deinde* would have been better.

¹⁰³ Δεξιὰν ἔλαβον. Hutchinson, in his annotations upon the Institution of Cyrus, has brought several authorities to prove, that the kings of Persia used to pledge their faith by giving their right hands, which to be sure is true; but this custom was also observed by all nations, and by the Greeks, so early as in Homer's days, as we learn from Nestor's speech to the Greek commanders,

Σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι, καὶ δεξιά, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν.

Which I need not translate, because Ovid has almost done it for me.

Jura, Fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextræ?

¹⁰⁴ Ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βῶμον. Hutchinson is of opinion, that this must be the altar of Diana of Ephesus: which to me seems very probable, for this reason, because that altar was a very ancient sanctuary; so ancient that Eustathius, in his annotations on Dionysius περιηγήτης, says, the Amazons being pursued by Hercules, and flying to this altar, were protected by the religion of it. As the Persians worshipped the sun and moon, it is no wonder they had a respect for the altar of Diana, which may be the reason why they spared Delus and Ephesus, when they burned all the other Greek temples. It is equally certain this could not be a Persian altar, if what Herodotus says be true, that the Persians erected none to their gods. Though it is certain there was a temple in Ecbatana dedicated to Diana, under the name of Anitis; since Plutarch tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aspasia a priestess of that goddess, to disappoint Darius, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, ἣν Ἀνεΐτιν καλεῖσι, ἱερὰν ἀπέδειξεν αὐτήν. (τὴν Ἀσπασίαν.) But, as Ecbatana was far distant from the government of Cyrus, it is not at all probable that Orontas fled to that temple for protection. However, the Persians had a particular respect for Diana of Ephesus, an instance of which may be seen in Thucydides, where we find Tissaphernes offering sacrifice to that goddess.

¹⁰⁵ Τὸ κατὰ τέτον εἶναι. This addition of εἶναι is very common in all the Attic writers. Herodotus has also admitted it

into his Ionic style; thus he makes Demaratus say to Xerxes, *Εκὼν γε εἶναι ἑὸν ἂν μονομαχέοιμι*. D'Ablancourt, I imagine, found some difficulty in this passage, for he has left it out.

¹⁰⁶ *Ελάβοντο τῆς ζώνης*. Hutchinson has shewed, from a passage in Diodorus Siculus, in the affair of Charidemus, who was ordered to be put to death by Darius, that it was a custom among the Persians to lay hold on a criminal's girdle when they condemned him to die.

¹⁰⁷ *Προσεκύνησαν*. Hence it appears, that this custom of adoration was not only used by subjects to the kings of Persia, but by subjects of an inferior degree to those of a superior. We have the whole ceremonial in Herodotus: if two Persians of equal degree meet, says he, they kiss one another's mouths; if one of them is something inferior to the other, he kisses his cheek; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When Alexander, intoxicated with success, endeavoured to prevail with the Macedonians to imitate the conquered Persians in this servility, Callisthenes opposed him to his face, with a spirit becoming both a Greek and a philosopher; by what he says to Alexander upon that occasion, we find that Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, was the first of all mankind to whom adoration was paid, which from thence was looked upon as a duty from the Medes and Persians to his successors. To this day the Greeks call the compliments they send one to another *προσκυνήματα*, *adorations*.

¹⁰⁸ *Σκηπτέχων*. Sceptres, both in the ancient and modern world, are ensigns of great dignity. All authors agree, that they were borne by the kings of Persia; upon which occasion, I cannot help translating a fine sentiment made use of by the first Cyrus (or rather by our author), in the speech he makes to his children; "You are sensible," says he, "O Cambyzes! that this golden sceptre is not the support of the empire, but that faithful friends are the truest and securest sceptre of kings, οἷσθα μὲν ἔν καὶ σὺ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι ἢ τόδε τὸ χρυσεὺν σκηπτέρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασωζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκηπτέρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέςατον καὶ ασφαλέσατον. This thought Sallust has paraphrased in the speech of Micipsa: *Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia Regni sunt, verum amici*. Homer gives all his Greek commanders sceptres; with him a king is

Σκηπῖθχος βασιλεύς, which Milton has rendered “sceptred kings.” By this passage in Xenophon, we find that Persian noblemen were also distinguished by this mark of dignity. However, I look upon the Σκηπῖθχοι, or sceptre-bearers, to have been a kind of guard attending upon the persons of the Persian kings, since we find in Xenophon, that three hundred of them, richly dressed, attended the first Cyrus upon a very solemn occasion, ἐφείποντο οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπῖθχοι κεκοσμημένοι—ἀμφὶ τὰς τριακοσίας. D’Ablancourt has strangely mistaken this passage: he supposes Artapates to have been one of those whose duty it was to carry the sceptre of Cyrus: but I do not think it fair to censure him, without quoting his words, “l’un des plus fideles serviteurs de Cyrus, d’entre ceux qui portoient son sceptre.”

¹⁰⁹ Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόντην, ἔτε θεθνεῶτα ἑδὲ πώποτε εἶδεν. Hutchinson has left out this line in his translation. When I say this, I desire not to be mistaken; I am convinced that his leaving it out was owing to some accident; for he is certainly not, like some others, a shy translator, where he meets with a difficulty.

¹¹⁰ Ὅπως ἔν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c. These ellipses, as well in prohibitions as in exhortations, are often to be met with in the best authors, particularly the Attic writers: in the former φυλάττε, or something like it, is to be understood, and in the latter πειρῶ, or something equivalent to it; and as ὅπως leads to the ellipsis in exhortations, so μήπως leads to it in prohibitions; a remarkable instance of which we find in Homer, where Sarpedon says to Hector,

Μήπως ὡς ἀφίσι λίβε ἄλόντε πανάγρη,
Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε,

where, by the way, the dual number is used for the plural, which is not uncommon.

¹¹¹ Εὐ γὰρ ἴσε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. Cyrus with great judgment expresses himself with so much warmth upon the subject of liberty, which he knew to be the reigning passion of the people to whom he addresses his discourse. Whether D’Ablancourt found any difficulty in this sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender ears of his monarch with the

harshness of it, I know not; but so it is, that he has left out every syllable of this period.

¹¹² Ἀνδρώπεις· ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων. This opposition between ἀνθρωποι and ἀνδρες is finely supported in Herodotus, where he says that Leonidas and his four thousand Greeks, having repulsed the Persians in several attacks at Thermopylæ, made it plain to all the world that they were many men but few soldiers, δῆλον ἐποίησεν—ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀνδρες: I am apt to think our author had that passage of Herodotus in his eye upon this occasion. This opposition is preserved in Latin by *homines* & *viri*, of which Hutchinson and Leunclavius have very properly taken advantage in rendering this passage. I imagine D'Ablancourt thought his language would not support this distinction, having left out the whole passage: but I do not see why the opposition which his language allows between *des hommes* and *des soldats*, might not have encouraged him to attempt it. There is a fine instance of that opposition in a very beautiful, though a very partial writer of his nation, Father D'Orleans, where, speaking of the French army at the ever-memorable battle of Crecy, he says, *les François avoient beaucoup de troupes & point d'armée, grand multitude d'hommes & peu de soldats, des rois à leur tête, & point de chefs*.

¹¹³ Ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρώα. Plutarch has given us the substance of a most magnificent letter, written by Cyrus to the Lacedæmonians, desiring their assistance against his brother; he there tells them, that “if the men they send him are foot, he will give them horses; if horsemen, chariots; if they have country houses, he will give them villages; if villages, cities; and that they shall receive their pay by measure, and not by tale.” Οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους· εἰ δὲ ἵππεῖς, συνωρίδας· εἰ δὲ ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· εἰ δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθὲ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐκ ἀριθμοῦ, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσεσθαι. This letter seems to be full of the same eastern Fast, with the speech Cyrus makes to the Greeks upon this occasion.

¹¹⁴ Ασπίς. Ασπίς is taken here in the same sense Suidas gives it, ἡ τάξις, that is ἀσπισαί, which is very properly explained by the scholiast upon these words of Homer,

κρατεραί σίχες ασπισάων

λαῶν,

by πεζῶν, ὀπλιτῶν, heavy-armed men.

¹¹⁵ Ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, ascribes the invention of these chariots, armed with sithes, to the first Cyrus; though Diodorus Siculus, from Ctesias, says Ninus had great numbers of them in his expedition against the Bactrians: it is certain they were not in use in the Trojan war, for which reason Arrian, in his *Tactics*, opposes ἄρματα Τρωϊκὰ to Περσικὰ, as he does ψιλὰ to δρεπανηφόρα.

¹¹⁶ Αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέεσσαι. Arrian differs very much from our author in relation to these canals; he says that the level of the Tigris is much lower than that of the Euphrates, and consequently all the canals that run from the one to the other, are derived from the Euphrates, and fall into the Tigris. In this he is supported by Strabo and Pliny, who say that in the spring, when the snows melt upon the hills of Armenia, the Euphrates would overflow the adjacent country, if the inhabitants did not cut great numbers of canals to receive and circulate this increase of water, in the same manner as the Egyptians distribute that of the Nile.

¹¹⁷ Δέκα τάλαντα. By this it appears, as Hutchinson has observed, that three thousand daricks, and ten talents, were of equal value. See note 12, page iv.

¹¹⁸ Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθεσαν. It is very common with the Greek authors to denote the time of the day by the employment of it: thus περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς is often used by Dionysius Halicarnassensis to signify the evening, and ἀμφὶ πλήθεσαν ἀγορὰν, as Kuster has proved in his notes upon Suidas, what they called the third hour, that is, nine o'clock with us. Possibly πλήθεσα ἀγορὰ may not improperly be rendered in English Full Change. There is a very particular description of the evening in the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses says he hung upon the wild fig-tree till Charybdis had cast up his raft, which appeared at the time when the judge left the bench to go to supper,

Ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρυπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη,

Κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικάζομένων αἰζηῶν,

Τῆμος δὲ τάγε δῆρα Χαρύβδιος ἐξεφάνθη.

¹¹⁹ Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Πέρσας ψιλᾶς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν.—D'Ablancourt has left out all this, unless he designed that *selon la coutume des Perses* should be taken for a translation of it. I have said that Cyrus stood ready for the charge with his head unarmed, and not bare, in which I have differed from all the translators, but am supported by Brissenius, who, in his third book *de Regno Persarum*, from whom Hutchinson has taken his whole annotation upon this passage, is of opinion, which he proves from Herodotus, that both Cyrus and the rest of the Persians, though they had no helmets in a day of battle, wore however tiaras upon their heads. This is confirmed by Plutarch, who says, that in this battle *the tiara of Cyrus fell from his head*. Besides, ψιλᾶς, which is the word our author uses upon this occasion, has a visible relation to what goes before; after he has said, therefore, that the six hundred horse had all helmets but Cyrus, when he adds that he had ψιλὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν, he does not mean that he stood with his head bare, but that he had no helmet; in the same manner when Arrian calls the light-armed men ψιλᾶς, he does not mean they were naked, but that they had neither corslets, shields, greaves, or helmets, which the reader will see in his own words in note 6, page ii.

¹²⁰ Ηνίκα δὲ δειλὴ ἐγένετο. Hutchinson quotes, upon this occasion, a passage out of Dio Chrysostemus, in which he divides the day into five parts: 1. πρωΐ: 2. πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν: 3. τὰς μεσημβρίας: 4. δειλὴν: 5. ἐσπέραν: this division of the day perfectly agrees with that of Xenophon; and, as πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν is the middle hour between the morning and noon, so δειλὴν will be the middle hour between that and the evening, that is, three o'clock.

¹²¹ Γερρόφοροι. Περσικὰ μὲν τινα ὄπλα τὰ γέρρα ἐστί. Harpocration. This kind of buckler is also mentioned by Homer in the following verse,

Τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ σάκος εὐρὺ, γέρον πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη.
where Eustathius explains Γέρρα by ἀσπίδες Περσικαὶ ἐκ λύγων, Persian bucklers made of wickers.

¹²² Κατὰ ἔθνη. This seems to have been customary among the Persians; for we find in Herodotus, that in the prodigious army with which Xerxes invaded Greece, each nation was drawn up by itself, κατὰ ἔθνη διετάσσοντο.

¹²³ Εν πλαισίῳ. As πλαίσιον and πλινθίον are dispositions often mentioned by Xenophon and other Greek authors, it may not be amiss to shew the difference between them. They are thus defined by Arrian in his Tactics, πλαίσιον ὀνομάζεται, ὅταν πρὸς πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς παρατάξῃται τις ἐν ἑτερομηκεῖ σχήματι· πλινθίον δὲ, ὅταν ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι αὐτό τῆτο πρᾶξῃ (rather πραχθῇ); so that πλαισίον is an oblong square, and πλινθίον an equilateral square. Had D'Ablancourt attended to this, he would not have translated ἐν πλαισίῳ, *avec autant de front que de hauteur*.

¹²⁴ Ὑπὸ τοῖς διφροῖς. The grammarians derive δίφρος from διφορος, because both the ἡνίοχος, the charioteer, and the παραβάτης, the soldier, sat in the body of the chariot. This hint may be of use to history painters, who oftentimes place the charioteer upon a seat by himself in the modern way.

¹²⁵ Τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια. The last of these properly signifies victims, though I am sensible the first is sometimes taken also for ἱερεῖα; but in this place I should rather think it means some religious rites, upon which conjectures were formed of future events.

¹²⁶ Ζεὺς Σωτήρ καὶ Νίκη. Dion Cassius tells us, that at the battle of Philippi, Brutus's word was ἐλευθερία, *libertas*; at the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar's word was Αφροδίτη νικήσατα, *Venus victrix*; and that of Pompey, Ηρακλῆς ἀνίκητος, *Hercules invictus*.

¹²⁷ Επαιάνιζον οἱ Ἕλληνες. Achilles, after he has slain Hector, says thus to his men, in Homer,

Νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰδόντες Παιήονα, κῆροι Ἀχαιῶν,
Νηῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα ———

whence the Greek Scholiast observes, that the ancients sung two pæans; the first before the battle, to Mars, and the second after it, to Apollo.

¹²⁸ Εξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος. This expression is celebrated by Demetrius Phalareus as an instance of the beauty which metaphors give, when they descend from greater things to smaller.

¹²⁹ Ελελιζοσι. Ελελεῦ, ἐπιφώνημα πολεμικόν. Hesychius. From thence comes ἐλελιζω. I am at a loss to guess what D'Ablancourt means by translating this *comme on fait dans les solennitez de Mars*.

¹³⁰ Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, ἴσαντο. Hutchinson has employed his whole annotation upon this passage in shewing that οἱ δέ, in this place, signifies τινές, which to be sure is so: but he has said nothing of a much greater difficulty that occurs in it. If we are to read ἴσαντο in this place, as all the translators have rendered it, the sense will be, that when the Greeks saw the chariots coming towards them, they stood still, which sure was not the way to avoid them. I find in Leunclavius's edition the word διῴσαντο in the margin, and also in the Eton manuscript, quoted by Hutchinson in his addenda, though neither of them have followed it in their translations, or said any thing to support it; however, I make no doubt but this is the proper reading; and then the sense will be very plain: the Greeks avoided the chariots, by dividing. This is confirmed by a passage in Arrian, which fully explains that before us. At the battle of Arbela, or, as he will have it, of Gaugamela, Darius had placed before his left wing one hundred of these chariots armed with sithes, which proved of no greater effect than those of Artaxerxes; for Alexander, who was upon the right of his own army, and consequently opposite to the chariots, had ordered his men to divide when they saw them coming, which they did accordingly, and by that means rendered them ineffectual. But the words of Arrian are the best comment upon this passage, which it is probable he had in view, ἔσι δὲ αὖ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων. διέσχον γὰρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα.

¹³¹ Ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ. This word is used also by Homer, to signify the place where the chariots ran, the lists.

————— λεῖος δ' ἵπποδρόμος ἀμφίς.

At the battle of Thurium, where Sylla defeated Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, the Roman soldiers treated these chariots, armed with sithes, with so great contempt, that, after the first which were sent against them had proved ineffectual, as if they had been spectators of a chariot race, they called out for more, ἄλλα ἦτεν, as Plutarch says, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις.

¹³² Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Βαρβαρῶν ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγᾶντο. Thus Arrian tells us that Darius placed himself in the centre of his army at the battle of Issus, according to

the custom of the kings of Persia; the reason of which custom, he says, Xenophon assigns in the passage now before us.

¹³³ I cannot help translating a very fine passage in Plutarch, in his Life of Artaxerxes, where he excuses himself for not entering into the detail of this battle, because Xenophon had already described it in so masterly a style, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him; he says, that "many authors have given an account of this memorable action, but that Xenophon almost shews it, and, by the clearness of his expression, makes his reader assist with emotion at every incident, and partake of every danger, as if the action was not past, but present." However, that I may neither rob Xenophon of the praise Plutarch gives him, or Plutarch of his manner of giving it, I shall transcribe the whole passage: τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην, says Plutarch, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελεκότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονυχὶ δεικνύοντος ὅψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἔγεγεννημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, ἐφίσαντος τὸν ἀκροατὰν ἐν πάθει, καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα, διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἧκ ἔστι νῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγῳ. The same author calls the place, where this battle was fought, Cunaxa.

¹³⁴ Ἐκείντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. I am so much pleased with the reason D'Ablancourt gives for not translating these words, that I must mention it; he says, *le Grec dit, qui se firent tous tuer sur lui, mais cela est répété ensuite dans son eloge, & j'avois besoin de cette expression là dix lignes après.* There is a frankness in this acknowledgment that has more merit in it than the best translation.

¹³⁵ Ἐν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται. Literally at the door of the king, concerning which, see note 30, page ix.

¹³⁶ Ἀλεξόμενος. It is to be observed, that ἀλέξασθαι, in this place, signifies to reward and to revenge, both which significations this word admits of. Ἀλέξεις, βοήθεια καὶ ἀντίτισις. Hesychius. Ἀμύνεσθαι is used in the same manner by Thucydides, where Hermocrates of Syracuse tells the inhabitants of Sicily, τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα ἐξ ἴσθ' ἀρετῇ ἀμυνέμεθα, where ἀμυνέμεθα is thus explained by the Greek Scholiast, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῶν δύο σημασιῶν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ καλῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ.

¹³⁷ Ὡς φαίνεσθαι τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς, εὐδαιμονεστάτας, τὰς δὲ κακὰς, δόλως τέτων ἀξιῶσθαι. D'Ablancourt has not taken the least notice of these lines in his translation; if the reader will

give himself the trouble of comparing his version with the original in this character of Cyrus, he will find many omissions, as well as strange liberties.

¹³⁸ Βίκες. Βίκος, σάμνος ὡτα ἔχων. Hesychius. It was a wine vessel.

¹³⁹ Εσπεδαίολογεῖτο. Hutchinson has rendered this *gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat*, which is, no doubt, the general sense of the Greek word, but does not, in my opinion, explain that which our author has given it in this place. The subject of the discourse between Cyrus and his friends, was of little consequence to let the spectators know how much he honoured them; his manner of conversing with them could only do it; and, as σπεδῆ signifies earnestness in the manner of speaking, as well as the seriousness of the subject, I thought proper to give it that sense in the translation. This puts me in mind of a practice of some persons of quality in Scotland, when King Charles the First made a progress thither: my Lord Clarendon says, that in order to render themselves considerable in the eyes of their countrymen, they used to whisper the king when he appeared in public, though the subject of those whispers was often of very little consequence. I have known some men of gallantry so happy in this practice, that, upon no other foundation than the art of whispering trifles, they have been thought to be well with women of distinction, which possibly was all they aimed at.

¹⁴⁰ Ουτος δέ, &c. The Latin translators have rendered this parenthesis, as if ἔτος related to the king, for which I think there is no foundation. I have understood it of Orontas, who entrusted a person in whom he thought he might confide, with his letter to the king, but soon found, to his cost, that he was more attached to Cyrus than to him.

¹⁴¹ Συντράπεζοι. Properly those who eat at his table.

¹⁴² Τὴν Φωκαίδα. As this favourite mistress of Cyrus was afterwards very near being the cause of a revolution in the Persian empire, it may not be amiss to give some account of her. She was of Phocæa in Ionia (the mother-city of Marseilles), and the daughter of Hermotymus, her name Milto; she was mistress of so much wit and beauty, that Cyrus, who was very fond of her, called her Aspasia, from Aspasia the mistress of the great Pericles, who was so much celebrated for

those accomplishments. After the death of Cyrus, she was in the same degree of favour with his brother Artaxerxes, whose eldest son Darius had so unfortunate a passion for her, that, upon his being declared by his father successor to the crown, when, it seems, it was customary for the successor to ask some favour of the king, which was never refused, if possible to be granted, he demanded Aspasia. The king, though, besides his wife Atossa, he had three hundred and sixty ladies in his seraglio, one for every night, according to the old Babylonian year, yet was unwilling to part with Aspasia, though she was now far from being young; so told his son that she was mistress of herself, and if she consented to be his, he should not oppose it, but forbid him to use violence. It seems this caution was unnecessary, for Aspasia declared in favour of the son, which so displeased Artaxerxes, that, though he was under a necessity of yielding her to Darius, yet he shortly after took her from him, and made her a priestess of Diana. This exasperated Darius to that degree, that he conspired with Teribazus to put his father to death; but his design being discovered, ended in his own destruction. After this short account of Aspasia's adventures, I believe the reader will smile to find her called *la belle* and *la sage* by D'Ablancourt. She was the occasion of so much mischief, that I am persuaded even the Persian ladies could not refuse her the first of these qualities; but there is little room to call her chaste, for that is the sense of the word *sage*, in his language, when applied to a woman. Had Xenophon designed to give her that character, he would have called her *σώφρονα*, instead of *σοφὴν*: the last of which I should think might be more properly translated in French by *sensée* than *sage*.

¹⁴³ Συσραφέντες. I am sorry I find myself obliged to differ from Hutchinson in translating this. I agree with him that *conglobati*, the sense he has given of it, is the general sense of the word, as he has proved from Hesychius and Phavorinus; as for those synonymous words he has quoted from Julius Pollux, I do not look upon them to concern the present case, since they relate only to the contraction of the human body, as the title of that chapter plainly shews, Περὶ τῆ συστρέψαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀπλῶσαι. But, in order to form a right judgment of the sense of this word, in this place, we are to consider the

situation of the two armies: the Greeks, after they had broken that part of the enemy's army that stood opposite to them, were engaged in pursuing them; and the king, having plundered Cyrus's camp, followed the Greeks, in order to fall upon their rear, *προσιῶν ὀπισθεν*: but the latter seeing this motion of the king, faced about to meet him. Now, I believe it will be allowed, that it was not enough for the Greeks (though they had been dispersed, which we do not find) to get together in a body, in order to meet the king, who was following them; I say, I believe it will be thought that it was also necessary for them to face about, in order to put themselves in a proper posture to receive him. This motion of facing about to receive the enemy, is often described by this verse in Homer,

Οἱ δ' ἐλελήχθησαν καὶ ἐναντίοι ἔσαν Ἀχαιῶν.

Which the Greek Scholiast explains by the very word made use of by our author in this place, *συνεστράφησαν, μεταβαλλόμενοι εἰλήθησαν*. It is with pleasure I lay hold on this opportunity of doing justice to D'Ablancourt, who has said, I think, in a very proper and military manner, "*les Grecs firent la conversion pour l'aller recevoir; cela s'appelle parler guerre.*" Leunclavius has also given it the same sense.

¹⁴⁴ *Ἡ δὲ παρήλθεν ἔξω τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατος.*—Xenophon considers the Greek army as it stood when the battle began; otherwise, after they had faced about, their left wing was become their right. This D'Ablancourt has observed, but Leunclavius and Hutchinson take no notice of it.

¹⁴⁵ *Διασάντες.* This is the word contended for in note 130, page xxxiii. The motion made by the Greeks to let Tissaphernes and his men pass through their body upon this occasion, is the same they then made to let the chariots pass through them.

¹⁴⁶ *Παραμειψάμενος, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἐναντιὰν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ, &c.* I have translated this passage as if there was a comma after *παραμειψάμενος*, which I have rendered "marching by them," a signification very common to the word; for Xenophon does not say that the Greeks did actually open their wing; but that, while they were consulting about doing so, the king drew up his army against theirs, upon which the Greeks advanced to attack him: this I do not un-

derstand how they could well do, while the enemy was upon their flank; but if we suppose the king marched by them, and drew up upon the same ground, and in the same disposition in which he first came on, we may easily understand how the Greeks, by facing about again, might put themselves again in a posture to attack him. And this seems to agree very well with their pursuing the king's troops to a village, which pursuit led them to some distance from their camp, since they made it a matter of consultation, whether they should send for their baggage, or return thither.

¹⁴⁷ Αετὸν τινα χρυσεὺν ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον.—I think Hutchinson has been very happy in substituting ξυστῇ to ζολῃ, but then I do not see what ἐπὶ πέλτης has to do here, unless it is supposed to signify a shield upon which the eagle rested; however, I cannot think Xenophon said αετὸν ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον, and, if ἐπὶ πέλτης is to be changed into ἐπὶ παλτῇ, as Leunclavius will have it, it will then be visibly a marginal explanation of ἐπὶ ξυστῇ. Xenophon, in his Institution of Cyrus, tells us, that the ensign of the first Cyrus was a golden eagle upon a spear, with its wings extended, which, he says, still continues to be the ensign of the Persian kings, and which we find, by Curtius, continued to be so as long as the Persian empire subsisted. The description Xenophon gives us of this eagle, comes so very near to that given by Dion Cassius of the Roman eagle, and also to the representation of it upon Trajan's pillar, that one may reasonably conclude the Romans received theirs from the eastern part of the world. I own it is very probable that the Romans had an eagle for their ensign before the battle, in which the first Cyrus defeated Cræsus, and in which Xenophon says he had an eagle for his ensign; for this battle was fought in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, that is, about the 205th year of Rome. Indeed, the earliest mention I can find of the Roman eagle, is in the year of Rome 299, and the third of the eighty-first Olympiad, T. Romilius and C. Veturius being consuls; where Siccius Dentatus tells the people, that, in an action he there mentions, he recovered the eagle from the enemy; but it must be owned also, that it is there spoken of as a thing already established. I say this to shew the mistake of some learned men, who have maintained that Marius was the first who introduced the use of this en-

sign. I will hazard a conjecture: It is this—If the account given by Dionysius Halicarnassensis be true, which he supports by so many probable circumstances, that Æneas, after the destruction of Troy, came into Italy, and built Lavinium, whose inhabitants built Alba, of which the city of Rome was a colony; if, I say, this account be as true as it is probable, why may not Æneas have brought this ensign with him from the East? where possibly it might have been in use long before the conquest of Cyrus.

BOOK II.

¹ Προκλῆς. Teuthrania was a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, of which Procles was governor; he was descended from Damaratus, one of the kings of Sparta, who was deprived of his kingdom by his colleague Cleomenes; upon which he fled to Darius Hystaspes, who entertained him with great magnificence: he afterwards attended Xerxes in his expedition to Greece.

² Ταμώ. He was of Memphis, and admiral to Cyrus; after his death, he sailed with his fleet to Egypt, and having formerly conferred some obligations on Psammitichus, who was then king of that country, he made no doubt of his protection; but Psammitichus, forgetting all obligations, as well as the laws of hospitality, put him to death, and seized his fleet.

³ Καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν αὐτὸς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. All this is left out by D'Ablancourt.

⁴ Ωφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν. Ωφελον is here joined with an infinitive mood, though in an optative sense. In all these phrases, ὦφελον, or the Ionic ὄφελον, is not an adverb, whatever the grammarians say, ὥς or εἴθε being always understood, which construction of the phrase is so true, that one of them is frequently expressed. Thus Helen, reproaching Paris for his inglorious behaviour in the duel between him and Menelaus, tells him,

Ἡλυθες ἐκ πολέμου. ὡς ὄφελος αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι,

Ἀνδρὶ δαμῆς κρατερῶ, ὅς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν.

Many other examples may be given from the same author, where αἶθε or εἴθε is expressed.

⁵ Περὶ πλῆθυσαν ἀγοράν. See note 118, page xxx.

⁶ Οπλομαχίαν. Leunclavius has translated this *gladiatoria peritiam*, which I cannot think so proper as *artem armis depugnandi*, in Hutchinson; D'Ablancourt has artfully evaded this difficulty, by comprehending both τῶν περὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν in these general words, *l'arte militaire*. It is very certain the Romans took many things, both in civil and military affairs, from the Greeks, but I believe the gladiatorial spectacles were in use in Rome, before they were heard of in Greece; the origin of which seems to have been the early custom in use among most nations, of sacrificing captives to the manes of great generals who were slain in war. Thus Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus; and Æneas sends captives to Evander, to be sacrificed at the funeral of his son Pallas. Valerius Maximus says, that M. and D. Brutus, in the consulship of App. Claudius and M. Fulvius, honoured the funeral of their father with a gladiatorial spectacle, which from that time became frequent upon those occasions; but this was many years after the time our author speaks of, when I am convinced the Greeks had never heard of these spectacles: my reason is, that whenever any Greek author of, or near, the age Xenophon lived in, speaks of ὀπλόμαχοι, I dare say they always understand masters appointed to teach military exercises.

⁷ Ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. See note 30, page ix.

⁸ Τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; Thus, when Xerxes sent to Leonidas at Thermopylæ to deliver up his arms, the latter bid him come and take them; λαβεῖ μολῶν, says he, according to the concise style of his country.

⁹ Εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετή. Ἀρετὴ is here taken for courage, in which sense it is frequently used by the best authors; in this sense Idomeneus says an ambuscade is the trial of a soldier's courage,

—— λόχον ἐνθα μάλισ' ἀρετὴ διαείδεται ἀνδρῶν,

Ενθ' ὅτε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος, ἐξεφάνθη.

In this sense also Virgil says,

— Dolus, an virtus quis in hoste requirit?

After this, I believe, it will be allowed, that D'Ablancourt does not give the author's sense, when he says, *il ne nous est resté autre chose, que les armes & la liberté*; to justify this he says the Greek word signifies *la vertu*, though ἀρετή, in this place, signifies neither liberty nor virtue.

¹⁰ Ω νεανίσκε. I find all the translators have rendered this in the same manner I have done; though if Lucian's account of our author be true, that is, that he was above 90 years old when he died, and if, according to Laertius, he died in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, he must have been 50, at least, at the time of this expedition: which I mention for the sake of some worthy gentlemen of my acquaintance, who will not be sorry to find a man of fifty treated as a young man.

¹¹ Επ' Αιγυπτον στρατεύειν. This expedition is proposed, because the Egyptians had several years before withdrawn themselves from their subjection to the Persians, and were at this time governed by a king of their own, called Psammitichus, descended from the ancient Psammitichus, who, being one of the twelve kings, put all the rest to death, and by that means made himself king of all Egypt.

¹² Συμβουλευόμεθα' σοι. See note 14, page vi.

¹³ Φαλῖνος δ' ὑποσρέψας. It is with great reason that Hutchinson rejects the sense Leunclavius gives to ὑποσρέψας in this place, as if it signified returning; he has shewn out of Julius Pollux, that ἐξαπατᾶν, σρέφεισθαι, and ὑποσρέφεισθαι are synonymous, whence he very properly derives the Latin word *strophæ*, a deceit; to which I shall add, that Pliny the younger makes use of the word in this sense, in one of his epistles, where he says, *inveniam aliquam stropham, agamque causam tuam*. There is also a passage in Aristophanes, where σροφή is used in the same signification, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἔργον ἐς' ἐδὲν σροφῶν, which the Scholiast explains in a manner very agreeable to the sense of ὑποσρέψας in this place: στροφαί, says he, οἱ συμπεπλεγμένοι, καὶ δολεροὶ λόγοι. D'Ablancourt was aware of the difficulty of this word, and has left it out. Nothing surprises

me so much, as that Hutchinson, after having so justly condemned *reversus* in his notes, should follow it in his translation. The French language has an expression, which very properly explains ὑποστρέψας in this place, *détournant le coup*.

¹⁴ Σταδίοι πεντήκοντα και ἑξακισχίλιοι και μύριοι. This confirms what was advanced in note 22, page vii. viz. that a parasanga contained thirty stadia.

¹⁵ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, σταδίοι ἑξήκοντα και τρισχίλιοι. Here must be some mistake, probably in the transcriber, though Xenophon says upon report only, that there were three thousand and sixty stadia from the field of battle to Babylon. However, Plutarch seems to come much nearer the truth, when he says there were but five hundred; for if the reader will compute the distances mentioned by our author from Thapsacus, where Cyrus passed the Euphrates, to the field of battle, he will find that they amount to no less than four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia. Now the ancient geographers allow no more than four thousand eight hundred from Thapsacus to Babylon, in following the course of the Euphrates, which we find was the rout the army took; so that there will, in that case, remain no more than one hundred and fifty stadia from the field of battle to Babylon, which is so vastly short of the distance mentioned by Xenophon, that the difference seems to be rather owing to a fault in the transcriber, than to a mistake in those from whom Xenophon received his information. I am surprised none of the translators have thought fit to take notice of this passage.

¹⁶ Σφάξαντες κάπρον, &c. The custom of giving a sanction to solemn leagues and treaties, by the sacrifice of particular animals, is very ancient: thus the agreement between the Greeks and Trojans, and the single combat of Paris and Menelaus, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the sacrifice of three lambs, one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third to Jupiter. The blood of the victims was often mixed with wine, and sometimes received in a vessel, in which the contracting parties dipped their arms, as Herodotus informs us was practised by the Scythians.

¹⁷ Στόλος. See note 20, page vii.

¹⁸ Ἀμφὶ δείλην. See note 120, page xxxi.

¹⁹ Ὅς ἂν ἀφιέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, &c. Hutchinson, I think very justly, finds fault with Leunclavius for changing τὸν ὄνον into τὸν φόβον, without the authority of any manuscript; for, as he observes, we find in the beginning of this book that they had asses among their beasts of burden: but then I cannot think *exercitui* in Leunclavius, or *in castra* in Hutchinson, a close translation of εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, which last sense I find D'Ablancourt has also given to it. I rather take τὰ ὄπλα in this place to signify the quarter of the heavy-armed men, in which sense I dare say our author uses it afterwards, where he says that Proxenus and himself were walking *πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων*: and in this sense I am sure Thucydides uses the word in the beginning of the third book, where he says that "the Peloponnesians being encamped in Attica, laid waste the country, till the Athenian horse, coming up, put a stop to the excursions of the light-armed men, and hindered them from leaving the heavy-armed, and continuing their depredations in the neighbourhood of the city:" τὸν πλεῖστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον, τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὀπλων, τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν, where τῶν ὀπλων is explained by the Greek Scholiast by τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

²⁰ Τάλαντον ἀργυρίῳ. See note 12, in page iv. Possibly the drachmæ and minæ, of which this talent was composed, might be of a different standard from those there mentioned.

²¹ Φάλαγγα πυκνήν. Πύκνωσις τῆς φάλαγγος, among the Greek masters of tactics, signifies properly the closing both of the ranks and files. ἔσι πυκνωσις μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀραιότερης εἰς τὸ πυκνότερον συναγωγὴ κατὰ παραστάτην τε καὶ ἐπιστάτην. Arrian. This is unfortunately rendered by D'Ablancourt *après avoir rangé l'armée en bataille au meilleur état qu'elle put être*.

²² Ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ Ἀλγελοὶ. Ὀκνῶ. φοβεῖμαι. καὶ πυκνῶς πᾶσι κέχρηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ φοβεῖσθαι.

Φρονέοντα γὰρ νιν ἐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὀκνῶ.

This is from Suidas, whom I quote upon this occasion, because this word, in its general acceptation, signifies to be unwilling, to be backward.

²³ Ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βαντηριάν. The Lacedæmonian commanders carried a staff or stick (I am afraid of calling it a cane) possibly for the same purpose as the Roman centurions

used a *vitis*, that is, to correct their soldiers. Thucydides gives one to Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian commander; and we find in Plutarch, that Eurybiades, the Lacedæmonian admiral, and Themistocles, differing in opinion concerning the operations of their united fleet, the former, impatient of contradiction, held up his stick, threatening to strike Themistocles, who, instead of being diverted by this outrage from supporting his opinion, upon which he knew the safety of all Greece depended, generously sacrificed his resentment for a private indignity to his zeal for the public good, and made him that memorable answer, "Strike, if you will, but hear me," *πάπαξον μὲν, ἄκιστον δέ.*

²⁴ Οἶνος φοινίκων. See note 93, page xxiñ.

²⁵ Τὸν ἐλκέφαλον τῷ φοίνικος. Pliny and Theophrastus both say, that the pith here mentioned grows on the top of the palm-tree.

²⁶ Εἶδος. I cannot like *genus ipsum* in the Latin translators for εἶδος: had Xenophon meant *the kind* of food, as Hutchinson, I find, understands it, since he has added the word *cibi*, he sure would also have added τῷ ἐδέσματος. I rather think that our author meant the particular figure of it, which is no uncommon signification of the word εἶδος: D'Ablancourt has also understood it in this sense.

²⁷ Εὐρημα ἐποίησάμην. In this sense Εὐρημα is used by Thucydides, where Nicias tells the Athenians, that, the affairs of the Lacedæmonians having taken an unhappy turn, they would look upon it as "a piece of good fortune to have it in their power immediately to hazard a battle," ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχῆσιν, ὅτι τάχιστα εὐρημα εἶναι διακινδυνύσαι. I think Leunclavius has not said properly, *reperiundum mihi aliquid duxi*; how much happier has Hutchinson rendered it, *in lucro mihi deputandum censui*? *J'ay taché d'apporter quelque remède à vos maux*, in D'Ablancourt, has not the least pretence to a translation of this passage.

²⁸ Αἰσπονδαὶ μερόντων. See note 66, page xvi.

²⁹ Ὡς ἐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ. Thucydides uses this word in the same sense, where the ambassadors of Plataea tell Archidamus and the Lacedæmonians, that, by making an irruption into their country, they act unjustly, and in a manner unbe-

coming both themselves and their ancestors, ὃ δίκαια ποιεῖτε, ὃδ' ἄξια ἔστε ὑμῶν, ἔστε πατέρων ὧν ἔστε, εἰς γῆν τὴν Ἡλαταίων στρατεύοντες.

³⁰ Ως βασιλέα. See note 19, page vii.

³¹ Οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βελήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλείῳς δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτῆς, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. I have transcribed this period, that the reader may confront it with D'Ablancourt's translation. Thus he has rendered it: "car il ne souffrira jamais que nous repassions en Grece pour y publier notre gloire & sa honte." This is one of those many periods in that translator, the vivacity of which could not fail to please, were they not designed for translations.

³² Ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις. The walls of Babylon were also built with burnt bricks, cemented with bitumen instead of mortar: ἐλκύσαντες δὲ, says Herodotus, πλίνθες ἱκανὰς, ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ. I am convinced, from these and several other passages among the ancients, that they employed raw bricks for many uses, otherwise it cannot well be understood why these two authors should lay so much stress upon these bricks being burned. But this is not all; I am persuaded that the directions given by Vitruvius and Palladius, for making bricks, relate chiefly to raw bricks, for they both direct the earth, of which the bricks are made, to be wrought up with straw. These directions are, no doubt, very proper, where the bricks are not to be burned, because the straw holds the earth together; but, if bricks made in this manner were to be burned, the consequence would be, that the straw being consumed in the fire, as many pieces of straw as there were in every brick, so many hollow places there would be in them. There is a passage in Pausanias, where he tells us, that Agesipolis, making an irruption into the country of Mantinea, turned the river Ophis, that ran near the town, against the wall, and, by that means, dissolved it: the reason he gives for it, is, that it was built of raw brick, ὠμῆς ὠκοδομημένης τῆς πλίνθος. Upon this occasion, he says, that raw bricks are better to resist battering engines, than stones, because they are not so subject to break and fly out of

their courses; but then he adds, that raw bricks are as easily dissolved by water, as wax is by the sun.

³³ Αυται δε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Τίγρητος ποταμῶ. See note 116, page xxx.

³⁴ Εἰς γὰρ Παραδείσους. See note 23, page viii.

⁵ Πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων. See note 20, page vii.

³⁶ Πῶς ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Both the Latin translators have said *ubinam Proxenum vel. Clearchum reperirent*; D'Ablancourt has translated it in the same sense. There is a passage in Thucydides which induces me to differ from them. He says, τὸν Περόικκαν—ἠνάγκασαν, πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδα ἰδεῖν—προαπελθεῖν: where πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδα ἰδεῖν is thus explained by the Greek Scholiast, πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασίδῃ, ἔγω γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς τὸ ἰδεῖν τί σε ἐβελόμεν ἂντὶ τῆς διαλεχθῆναι σοί τι. And indeed frequent instances of this Atticism are to be met with in the best authors.

³⁷ Ξένος. See note 13, page v.

³⁸ Πόση τις εἴη χώρη. D'Ablancourt has visibly mistaken the sense of this expression. He says, "Clearque demanda au messenger quel étoit le país entre le Tigre et le Canal," whereas πόσος denotes quantity, not quality, as the grammarians speak; for which reason he should have said, "de quelle étendue étoit le país:" had Xenophon said ποῖα τις εἴη χώρα, his translation would have been proper. The Latin translators have rendered it as they ought. What I have said is justified by the messenger's answer, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλή.

³⁹ Οκνεῖντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληες διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. So the Latin translators give the text, without taking any notice of a very great difficulty that occurs in it; but, in order to understand this, let us cast our eyes upon the situation of the Greeks. They had passed the last of the two canals that lay in their way, and were now encamped under the walls of a town called Sitace, that stood close to the river Tigris. While they lay there, the Persians, who were encamped on the other side of that river, sent this insidious message to them. But what was the occasion of this message? Certainly not the fear lest the Greeks, after they had passed the bridge, should remain in the island, "ne Græci cum transiissent pontem, in insula manerent," as Hutchinson has trans-

lated it. The bridge, Xenophon has told us, lay over the Tigris, and the island was the country that lay between that river and the canal they had already passed, which island Xenophon has already told us, in two places, was a large and plentiful country, and very populous. The end of this message, therefore, was to divert the Greeks from staying in this island, for the reasons alleged by our author; and the readiest way to effect that, was, to induce them to pass the Tigris immediately, from an apprehension lest the enemy should break down the bridge. And that the view of the Persians was to engage them to pass the river, and not to prevent them from doing so, as Hutchinson and Leunclavius have translated it, appears very plainly from their behaviour afterwards; for we find they did not attempt to molest them in their passage. By this time I believe the reader is satisfied there must be some fault in the text, which I will venture to cure by the addition of one little word; if we read, ὀκνῶντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, the sense will be complete; and, that this correction, which is the first I have made, may not seem too bold, I will put the reader in mind of a passage in our author, where there is exactly the same turn of phrase I am here contending for. He says of his master Socrates, ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελόμενος, ἀργύριον πρᾶττοίτο, καὶ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος εἶναι, φίλον ἄνθρωπον κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖτο μὴ ὁ γινόμενος καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔχοι. D'Ablancourt, by his translation, seems to have been aware of this difficulty, in which he must be allowed to have the advantage over the Latin translators, though neither he nor they have said one word to clear it up, or even to discover it.

⁴⁰ Πρόβατα. Πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα. Suidas.

⁴¹ Χρήματα. See note 54, page xiii.

⁴² Σχεδίαις. See note 91, page xxiii.

⁴³ Μεστὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. The Latin translators do not seem to have attended to the general contrast there is between these two periods, otherwise they would not have rendered μεστὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, *multis difficultatibus referta*; for, as ὁδὸς διὰ σκοτίας is opposed to ὁδὸς εὐπορος, and πᾶς ποταμὸς δύσπορος to πᾶς ποταμὸς διαβατός, so μεστὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας is

visibly opposed to τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ ἀπορία. D'Ablancourt has, in my opinion, said much better, *parce qu'elle traîne après soy la nécessité.*

⁴⁴ Εφεδρον. Εφεδρος, according to the Greek Scholiast upon Sophocles, is properly ὁ παρέσκευασμένος, ὅταν δύο τινὲς παλαίωσι, παλαίσειν τῷ νικήσαντι.—Plutarch very beautifully applies this to Telesinus, who was very near defeating Sylla, after so many victories, at the gates of Rome, τὸν μέντοι τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα, καθάπερ ἔφεδρος ἀθλητῆς καταπόνῳ προσενεχθεὶς ὁ Σαννίτης Τελεσίνοσ, ἐγγὺς ἦλθε τῷ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ρώμης. This cannot be preserved in a modern translation.

⁴⁵ Αἰγυπτίως. See note 11, page xli.

⁴⁶ Τιάραν ὀρθήν. Most authors who treat of the affairs of Persia, have taken notice of this custom; but there is a print of it on a Persian monument found among the ruins of Persepolis by De Bruyn, and given by Gronovius in his notes upon Herodotus, to shew that this is the very monument the latter says Darius Hystaspes caused to be erected in honour of his horse and groom, to whom he owed the kingdom. I take no notice of the reasons alleged by Gronovius to support his conjecture, which seems well founded, because this monument is here exhibited with another view, namely, to let the reader see the difference of the turbans worn by the kings and subjects of Persia.

⁴⁷ Δέλε. Literally, his slave. This, it seems, was the style of the Persian court, which not only treated their subjects as slaves, but had the insolence to call them so.

⁴⁸ Οἷς ὤμνυτε ὥς ἀπολωλέκατε. Hutchinson, with great reason, finds fault with Leunclavius for translating this, “sacramento confirmabatis vos planè periisse;” but takes no notice of the difficulty arising from the particle ὥς, which, I own, weighs so much with me, that I cannot persuade myself Xenophon wrote τὰς τε ἀνδρας αὐτὰς, οἷς ὤμνυτε, ὥς ἀπολωλέκατε; at least not in the sense he has translated it, “posteaquam viros ipsos, quibus dedistis jusjurandum perdidistis.” If, instead of ὥς ἀπολωλέκατε, we might venture to read ἀπολωλεκότες, without ὥς, I think the period would be more intelligible. I believe it will be owned, that ἀπολωλεκότες agrees very well with προδεδωκότες in the following sentence; and it

seems to have been the author's design to connect them together with the particles τε and και.

⁴⁹ Ως βασιλεύα. See note 19, page vii.

⁵⁰ Εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος. See the Introduction.

⁵¹ Παρὰ τῶν Εφόρων. The ancient authors do not agree concerning the person who instituted these magistrates. Herodotus attributes their institution to Lycurgus, and Xenophon to him, jointly with the most considerable citizens of Sparta. On the other hand, Plutarch says, Theopompus, who reigned many years after Lycurgus, was the author of it. However, this is certain, that the three orders of the state, that is, the two kings, the senators, all the magistrates, even during their magistracy, and the people, were subject to their power. But the thing that gives the greatest relief to the reputation of their college, is, that it served as a model to the institution of the Roman tribunes, who, like the ephori, were only five in number, till the year of Rome 297, and the first of the 81st Olympiad, C. Horatius and Q. Minucius being consuls, when five more were added to them.

⁵² Δαρεικῆς. See note 12, page iv.

⁵³ Οσις, ἔξον μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης και βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν. D'Ablancourt has strangely mistaken this passage. Thus he has rendered it: "Que pouvant vivre en repos après la paix, cherche la guerre aux dépens même de son honneur, et de sa vie." This he says is stronger than the text; but I believe the reader will be of opinion, that, instead of strengthening the author's sense, he has destroyed it.

⁵⁴ Ως δεοὶ στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, &c. This saying of Clearchus is imitated by Livy, where Camillus, having restored the Roman army to its ancient discipline, "effecit," says he, "ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset." D'Ablancourt has thought fit to leave out above half this period; the reason he gives for it is, "parce qu'il ne faut rien ajouter à un bon mot." But sure this is a liberty no translator ought to indulge himself in.

⁵⁵ Γοργία. This Gorgias was a celebrated master of eloquence. He so far surpassed all the rest of his profession, that Diodorus Siculus tells us, he received no less from his scholars than one hundred minæ, that is, 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling. This Gorgias, it seems, was at the head of the embassy

which the Leontines sent to Athens, the second year of the 88th Olympiad, to desire their assistance against the Syracusans. In the first audience he had of the Athenians, his eloquence, or rather the novelty of it, so enchanted that people, who were great admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevailed upon to engage in the Sicilian war, the event of which gave them so fatal a blow, they could never recover it. Diodorus Siculus says also, that he was the inventor of the art of rhetoric, and the first who made use of studied figures and laboured antitheses of equal length and the same termination. This manner of speaking, the same author says, pleased at first from its novelty, but was afterwards looked upon as affected, and, if frequently practised, ridiculous.

BOOK III.

¹ Ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. See note 20, page vii. Here it plainly signifies that part of the camp which was appointed for the quarters of the several companies, particularly of the heavy-armed men. D'Ablancourt has left it out, as he generally does this expression where he meets with it.

² Ἀνεπάυετο δὲ ὅτε ἐτύλχανεν ἕκαστος, ἢ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδων, ἃς ἔποτε ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. This period, so beautifully melancholy, is cruelly mangled by D'Ablancourt, whose translation I shall also transcribe, that the reader may compare it with the original. "Ils étoient si abbatus qu'ils ne pouvoient reposer, comme ne devant plus revoir ni femme, ni enfans, ni patrie."

³ Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτέυσας. See the Introduction.

⁴ Ὁ Στόλος. See note 20, page vii.

⁵ Δι' αἰσχύνην δὲ ἀλλήλων. Where any number of men are embarked in the same design, they generally meet with success, but always deserve it, if they are once brought to be ambitious of one another's praises, and to stand in awe of one another's reproaches. Homer, who knew every spring of

the human soul, was sensible how powerful a motive this mutual respect is to a proper behaviour in a day of battle, when he makes Agamemnon say to his men,

Ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς υσμῖνας·

Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλεονες σόοι, ἥ ἐπέφανται.

By the way, it is from this sense of the word αἰδῶς, that the Latin authors have used *verecundia* to signify "respect."

⁶ Τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ ἔχῃ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὑβρίζομένους ἀποθανεῖν: thus translated by D'Ablancourt, "quelle esperance nous reste-t'il que d'une mort cruelle?" So pathetic a description of the miseries, which our author had then in view, deserved, methinks, that he should have been more particular in his translation.

⁷ Ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσι. This alludes to the umpires, who were chosen to preside at the Olympic and other games. This allusion, which gives great beauty to the whole passage, is entirely left out by D'Ablancourt.

⁸ Εἰ μὲν ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. The reader will observe, that ἐξορμάω is here used neutrally; it was used actively a few lines above.

⁹ Οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν. See note 10, page xli. and particularly the Life of Xenophon.

¹⁰ Κεντῆμενοι. I have ventured to depart from the Latin translators in rendering this word; Leunclavius has said *vulneribus affecti*, and Hutchinson *vulnera passi*; D'Ablancourt has left it out; I have translated it *tortured*: in the same sense Xenophon, a little above, speaking of the usage the Greeks were to expect, if they fell into the king's hands, says ἡμᾶς τὰ αἰσχίστα αἰκισάμενος, and a little before that πάντα τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας. It is from this sense of the word κεντέω that Suidas tells us a thief is called κέντρων, because, as he says, κέντρα were part of their torture. κέντρων ὁ κλέπτης· διὰ τὸ βασανιζομένοις τοῖς κλέπταις καὶ κέντρα προσφέρεσθαι.

¹¹ Εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὀπλων. See note 19, page xliii.

¹² Καὶ νῦν τῶν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιῶν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀμείνεις τε τῷ πλεθρῷ εἶναι, καὶ προβλεῦειν τῶν, καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν πᾶς δέη.—D'Ablancourt has left out every tittle of this fine period; the reason he gives for it, in his own words, is, *parce qu'elle est déjà exprimée*. I am afraid the reader will not think

that reason to have much weight. The Attic writers, when they speak of their own affairs, always use the word *προβέλευμα* for an act passed by the senate before it was sent down to the people; for the same reason the Greek writers of the Roman history call a *senatus consultum* *προβέλευμα*, and this sense seems to agree better with *διαφέρειν* and *ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε*, which our author applies to the generals a few lines above, and which seem very naturally to introduce *ἀμείνεις εἶναι*, *προβέβλυν*, and *προπονεῖν*. The Latin translators have given it another sense; Leunclavius has said *horum causâ consilia suscipienda*, and Hutchinson *pro iis consilia capere*: the decision therefore is left to the reader.

¹³ *Διὰ ξένιον*. See note 13, page v.

¹⁴ *Οἰωνὸς τῷ Διὸς τῷ Σωτῆρος*. *Οἰωνός* is here taken for the omen itself, in which sense we find it in that noble sentiment of Hector to Polydamas,

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

This superstition of looking upon sneezing as ominous, is very ancient, and to be met with in many Greek authors: possibly it may have given rise to the modern custom of saying, *God bless you!* upon that occasion.

¹⁵ *Ελθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν*. This was the first expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, when, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, they invaded their country, and were defeated by Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. This invasion seems to have been occasioned by the twenty ships which the Athenians sent to Miletus, under the command of Melanthius, at the instigation of Aristagoras, to assist the Ionians against the Persians; this, and their peremptory refusal to receive Hippias their tyrant, who had fled to Persia for refuge, provoked Darius Hystaspes to send a powerful fleet to invade Athens, the success of which has been mentioned. In this defeat the Persians lost six thousand four hundred men, and the Athenians, with their allies the Plataeans, only one hundred and ninety-two: but on the Persian side fell Hippias, and lost that life in the field which had been long due to the sword of justice. This battle was fought on the sixth day of the Attic month Boëdromion (with us, September), the third month from the summer solstice, and the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad,

Phenippus being archon, and four years before the death of Darius.

¹⁶ Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξερξῆς. This is the second expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, in which Xerxes himself commanded. The year in which this was undertaken, was the tenth from that in which the battle of Marathon was fought. Xenophon had reason to call this army innumerable, since Herodotus makes it amount to about three millions; which number is expressed in the epitaph that was inscribed on the monument erected at Thermopylæ, in honour of those Greeks who died there in the service of their country. This inscription says, that in that place four thousand Peloponnesians engaged three millions of the enemy. The words are these—

Μυριάσι ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο

Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

This seems very authentic, though I am sensible that Diodorus Siculus has διηκοσίαις instead of τριηκοσίαις: however, an army of two millions of men will, I am afraid, scarce gain that general credit which possibly it may deserve. The victories here hinted at by Xenophon, which the Athenians, with their allies, gained over the Persians, by sea and land, were Artemisium and Salamine, Plataea and Mycale; the two last being gained the same day, that is, the third of the Attic month Boëdromion, September—a day, it seems, auspicious to the cause of liberty—the first in Bœotia, and the last at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia.

¹⁷ Ἀντιταξάμενοι τῆτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔσγονοις—ἐνικᾶτε. This is ridiculously translated by D'Ablancourt, “vous avez vaincu les descendants de Xerxes en bataille rangée.” Xerxes must indeed have had a numerous posterity, if the whole army of Artaxerxes were his descendants; but οἱ ἐκείνων ἔσγονοι visibly signifies the descendants of those Persians who were defeated under Xerxes.

¹⁸ Ὡσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι. This tradition seems derived from Homer, who says that those who eat of the lotus never think of returning home,

Τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιγδέα καρπὸν,

Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἠθέλεν, ἔδ' ἐ νέεσθαι.

Eustathius, in his explication of this passage, quotes many

authors, but I think none whose account of the lotus seems so satisfactory as that of Herodotus, who says that when the Nile overflows the country, there grow in the water great quantities of lilies, which the Egyptians call lotuses; these, he says, they dry in the sun, and of the heads of them, which are like the heads of poppies, they make bread; the root of it, he says, is also eatable and sweet; he adds, that it is round, and about the size of an apple. But there is another kind of lotus, described by Theophrastus, and after him by Pliny. This is a tree “of the size of a pear-tree, or something less,” *εὐμέγεθες, ἡλίκον ἄπιος, ἢ μικρὸν ἑλαττον*. “*Magnitudo quæ piro,*” says Pliny. The leaves are jagged, like those of the ilex, *φύλλον δὲ ἐντομὰς ἔχον, καὶ πρινωῶδες*, thus translated by Pliny: “*incisuræ folio crebriores, quæ ilicis videntur.*” Theophrastus, and his translator Pliny, thus pursue the description; “the wood is black,” *τὸ μὲν ξύλον, μέλαν*, “*ligno color niger.*” “There are different kinds of this plant distinguished by the difference of their fruit,” *γένη δὲ αὐτοῦ πλείω διαφορὰς ἔχοντα τοῖς καρποῖς*, “*differentiæ plures æque maxime fructibus fiunt.*” “The fruit is like a bean, and changes its colour as it ripens, like grapes. The fruit of this lotus grows opposite to one another, like myrtle-berries, and thick upon the boughs;” *ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἡλίκος κύαμος· πεπαίνεται δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ βότρυες, μεταβάλλων τὰς χροιάς· φύεται δὲ καθάπερ τὰ μυρτα παράλληλα· πυκνὸς ἐστὶ τῶν βλαστῶν*. “*Magnitudo huic fabæ, color ante maturitatem alius atque alius, sicut in uvis; nascitur densus in ramis myrti modo.*” Theophrastus adds, that “the fruit is sweet, pleasant to the taste, and without any ill quality; on the contrary, that it helps digestion: the most delicious are those that have no stone, which one of the kinds has not.” He says “the inhabitants also make wine of them:” *γλυκύς· ἡδύς· καὶ ἀσινής· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τὴν κοιλίαν ἀγαθόν· ἡδίων δὲ ὁ ἀπυρήνος· ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ τοιῶτον γένος· ποιεῖσι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐξ αὐτῆς*. “*Tam dulci ibi cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hospitali advenarum oblivione patriæ. Ferunt ventris non sentire morbum, qui eum mandant. Melior sine interiore nucleo, qui in altero genere osseus videtur; vinum quoque exprimitur illi.*”—I have been so particular in translating the description of this plant, because I have never yet met with an account of it in any modern writer that agreed with this

given by Theophrastus; and, what is more extraordinary, Monsieur Maillet, who was many years consul at Cairo, says he never saw any plant in that country that had any resemblance to the lotus of the ancients. I have read the description of the lotus given by the polite and learned author of the *Spectacle de la Nature*, which agrees, no doubt, very well with the *Nelumbo* of the East Indies; but I believe he will own that it does not, in all respects, answer this description of Theophrastus. But there seems to be a third kind of lotus, upon which the horses belonging to the companions of Achilles fed during his inaction.

———— Ιπποὶ δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος
Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλινον
ἑστασαν.

This is thought to be a kind of trefoil, and this, I imagine, was the lotus that, together with saffron and hyacinths, formed the couch of Jupiter and Juno upon a very amiable occasion,

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθών Δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
Λωτὸν θ' ἐρσήεντα, ἰδὲ κρόκον, ἥδ' ὑάκινθον
Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν.

¹⁹ Μυρίας ὄψονται. Μυρία πολλὰ, καὶ ἀναρίθμητα· μύρια δὲ, ὁ ἀριθμός. Suidas. *Sercenti* is used in the same manner in Latin to signify an indefinite number; I have translated *μυρίας* a thousand, because I think our language makes use of this number in that sense: in French, *cent* has the same effect, for which reason I was surprised D'Ablancourt did not say *ils en verront renâitre cent*, rather than *dix mille*.

²⁰ Ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι. The reason why Xenophon does this honour to the Lacedæmonians, will appear in the Introduction.

²¹ Τὸν σῶλον. See note 20, page vii.

²² Χειροπλήθεσι τοῖς λίθοις. Literally, stones so large that every one of them is a handful.

²³ Σκευοφόρα. See note 53, page xiii.

²⁴ Στολάδες. Hutchinson inclines to read *σπολάδες*, which has the sense I have here given to *σολάδες*, though Suidas acknowledges *σολάδες* in the sense our author takes it.

²⁵ Χαράδραν. In this sense *χαράδραι* is taken by Homer in that sublime description of an inundation, in which the

bishop of Thessalonica thinks he had the universal deluge in his eye.

Τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθυσι ῥέοντες,
Πολλὰς δὲ κλιτῦς τότε ἀποτμήγῃσι χαράδραι,

where χαράδραι is thus explained by the Greek Scholiast, Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χειμάρρων ἐκρησσόμενοι αὐλῶνες· παρὰ τὸ χαράσσειν, καὶ τραχύνειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ κοῖλοι τόποι καὶ χεῖμαρροι: so that χαράδρα is a valley formed by a torrent.

²⁶ Λάρισσα. It is very judiciously remarked by the great Bochart, that it is improbable there should be any such name of a town in this part of the world as Larissa, because it is a Greek name; and though there were several cities so called, they were all Greek: and as no Greeks settled in these parts till the time of Alexander's conquests, which did not happen till many years after Xenophon's death, so he concludes they could meet with no such name so far from Greece as beyond the river Tigris. He therefore conjectures that this city is the Resen mentioned by Moses, Gen. x. 12, where he says, "Ashur built Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." This agrees exactly with what Xenophon says of it, who calls it πόλις μεγάλη, and affirms the walls of it to be in circumference two parasangas. Bochart therefore supposes, that when the Greeks asked the people of the country "what city are these the ruins of?" they answered ܠܪܫܢ Laresen, that is, "of Resen." It is easy to imagine how this word might be softened by a Greek termination, and made Larissa.

²⁷ Ἡλίου δὲ νεφέλῃν προκαλύψασα, &c. This passage, I find, admits of different readings; however, I prefer that of Hutchinson, which is supported by Stephens and Muretus, but differ both from him and Leunclavius, and also from D'Ablancourt, in translating it. They all make ἡφάνισε to relate to the town, which, I think, is neither so agreeable to the sense, nor the genius of the Greek language, since ἥλιον being the accusative case, governed by προκαλύψασα, I think ἡφάνισε ought to relate to the same, which every body knows is very common in Greek, and not to another thing, which has not been mentioned in this sentence.

²⁸ Πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. These are very extraordinary dimensions for a

pyramid, and very different from those of the Egyptian pyramids; so that we find the Egyptian and Asiatic taste disagreed very much in this respect. For though there is some diversity in the accounts given by the ancient authors of the dimensions of the Egyptian pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their proportions from this described by Xenophon. Herodotus makes the great pyramid at Memphis 800 Greek feet square, and as many in height, τῆς ἐστὶ παντακτῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐξῆς τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. If the reader pleases to turn to note 22, page vii. of the First Book, he will find that the Greek foot exceeded ours by ,0875 decimals of an inch. Diodorus Siculus says the great pyramid was four-square, and that each side of the base was 700 feet, and the height above 600.—μεγίστη, τετράπλευρος ἔσα τῷ σχήματι, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν ἑκάστην ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτὰ, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πλείω τῶν ἐξ πλέθρων.—There is another account given of its dimensions by a modern author, Thevenot, who says the great pyramid is 520 feet high, and 682 square. Of these three accounts, that of Diodorus Siculus seems to give the most rational proportion of a pyramid, which, if supposed to be an equilateral triangle, and the base to contain 700 feet, as he says, will, in that case, have 606 feet and a fraction of ,2177 for its perpendicular height; for if an equilateral pyramid, of which the base contains 700 feet, be divided into two equal parts by a perpendicular let down from the top, it will make two right-angled triangles, of which the hypotenuse will contain 700 feet, the square of which will consequently be equal to the square of the two other sides. If, therefore, from 490,000, the square of 700, you deduct 122,500, the square of 350, of which the base consists, there will remain 367,500 for the square of the perpendicular, the square root of which will be 606, with a fraction of ,2177; so that the perpendicular height of an equilateral pyramid, the base of which is 700 feet, will be 606 feet with that fraction.

²⁹ Εμβροντήτης. Εμβρόντητος· καρδιόπληκτος· μαινόμενος. ἔκφρων. Suidas.

³⁰ Τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν σενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ τὰς λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῶς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον.—Here a

great difficulty presents itself, which the translators have either not seen, or if they have seen it, they have not thought fit to take notice of it. But let us follow Xenophon in stating the inconveniences to which the equilateral square was subject, with the remedies proposed by the generals to cure them. The inconveniences, it seems, were two: the first, that, in passing through defiles, the wings closed, which put the men in disorder; the second, that, after they had passed the defiles, and the wings were again extended, the men were forced to run to the wings, in order to recover their ranks, by which means there was a void in the middle. In order therefore to remedy these inconveniences, the generals formed six companies or bodies of one hundred men each, which they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed officers to each of these bodies. The captains of these companies, when the wings closed, marched clear of them, so as not to put them into any disorder: by this means the first inconvenience was cured; but how was the second to be remedied? If you believe the text, as it now stands, by filling up the void, if it was narrow, with the companies of one hundred men each; if larger, with those of fifty; and if very large, with those of twenty-five: so that the narrower the interval, the greater was the number of men to be made use of in filling it up; and the larger, the fewer were to be employed for that purpose. But this is obviously contrary to common sense. If therefore the text be so far altered as to transpose *κατὰ τῆς λόχης* and *κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*, every thing will be natural. This correction, however, I have not followed in the translation, because it is very possible to explain the text as it now stands; and if so, no alteration ought to be made in it. It is possible, I say, very possible, that the meaning of Xenophon may be this. Let it be supposed that the square has passed some defile, and that the men running to each of the wings in order to recover their ranks, there remains a void in the centre; in that case, I say, possibly the captains of these six companies, marching in the rear, filled up the void, if it was narrow, with their six companies of one hundred men each, drawn up, for example, twenty-five in front, and twenty-four in depth; if the void was larger, with those of fifty men each, drawn up

fifty in front, and twelve in depth; and if very large, with the companies of twenty-five men each, drawn up one hundred in front, and six in depth; and by this means, as our author says, the centre was always full. This passage seems very well to have deserved the attention of the translators, for, if I am not mistaken, this is a very fine disposition, and very well calculated to cure the two inconveniences to which a square was subject, when an enemy followed. But the merit of this, and of all other dispositions practised by our author in this memorable retreat, must be submitted to the military men, who alone are the proper judges in these cases. As to the signification of πεντηκοσὺς and ἐνωμοτία, they were both military terms among the Lacedæmonians; the first explains itself, and the second is thus explained by Suidas. *Ενωμοτία. τάξις τις στρατιωτικὴ ἀνδρῶν ἑκαί κ', παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἴρηται, δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁμνύναι αὐτὰς μὴ λείψειν τὴν τάξιν*, “a body of soldiers among the Lacedæmonians, consisting of twenty-five men.” It must be observed, that in the First Book, where Xenophon mentions two of Menon’s λοχοί, or companies, to have been cut off, he says they amounted to one hundred men, whereas these companies consisted of one hundred men each; but these seem to have been formed for this particular purpose.

³¹ Ὑπὸ μασίγων. It was part of the Persian discipline to make their soldiers do their duty, as Xenophon says, ὑπὸ μασίγων, “under the scourge.” So Xerxes, after he had landed in Europe, saw his army passing the Hellespont under the scourge, ἐθνεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μασίγων διαβαίνοντα.—D’Ablancourt has left it quite out, choosing rather to leave his readers uninformed of this custom, than to clog his translation with so uncommon a circumstance.

³² Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα. “Scil. Barbarorum,” says Hutchinson in his notes; Leunclavius has also translated it in the same sense. I am sorry to find myself obliged to differ from them both; but I think it plain that τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα here signifies the main body of the Greeks, from which these heavy-armed men were detached to drive the enemy from the eminence, which after they had effected, the enemy attacked them in their retreat to their main body. Our author used the same expression in the same sense some pages before, πολὺ γὰρ ἔχοντες ὅσοντες ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης στρατεύματος διώκειν,

where all the translators have translated τὸ ἄλλο ἑράτευμα in the same manner I have rendered it here: besides, the word ἀπλοῖεν shews clearly that the thing here spoken of is their return.

³³ Ἰατροὶ. I have said “surgeons” instead of “physicians,” because, both professions being anciently exercised by the same persons, they were chiefly employed as surgeons upon this occasion. There are two verses in Homer, upon Machaon’s being wounded by Paris, which shew both the great regard that was paid to the profession, and that surgery, as I said, was a branch of it.

Ἰητὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων,

Ἰὲς τ’ ἐκτόμνειν, ἐπὶ τ’ ἥπια φάρμακα πᾶσσειν.

³⁴ Ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον. I was surprised to find this translated by D’Ablancourt, *selle son cheval*, which I had rather attributed to his inadvertence than to his ignorance, since he could not but know that the ancients, instead of saddles, used a kind of housing or horse-cloth, which the Greeks called σάγη, and the Latins *sagum*. This housing is to be seen upon the horses represented on Trajan’s pillar, and in many other monuments of antiquity. The Romans called these housings also *strata*, the invention of which, together with that of bridles, Pliny ascribes to Pelethronius, *frenos & strata equorum Pelethronium*.

³⁵ Κατὰ τετρακισχιλίς. This is the known force of the preposition κατὰ, as might be shewn by many examples taken from the best authors.

³⁶ Τάλαντον. See note 12, page iv.

³⁷ Ἡλεγχον. Ελέγξει βασιάνισει. Hesychius.

³⁸ Καρδέχες. This people came afterwards to be better known under the name of Parthians. I should not have advanced this upon an authority of less weight than that of Strabo, Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει, says he, τὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων χωρία ἔς οἱ πάλαι Καρδέχες ἔλεγον. It was the posterity of this very people with whom we shall find the Greeks engaged in the next Book, who, under the conduct of their king Arsaces, freed their country from the dominion of the Seleucides, and afterwards became a terror even to the Romans, who were so to the rest of mankind. They are still called Curdes, and their country Curdistan. Plutarch informs us

that Artaxerxes (the same against whom this expedition was formed) afterwards marched into the country of the Carduchians, at the head of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and that his army had in all probability been destroyed by famine, had not Teribazus, by infusing into the minds of the two kings of the Carduchians a mutual distrust, induced them to make peace with the Persians,

BOOK IV.

¹ Καὶ τῇ Ευφράτῃ τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο ὁ πρόσω τῇ Τίγρητος εἶναι. Strabo informs us that the Euphrates and Tigris both rise out of Mount Taurus, the former on the north of it, and the latter on the south, and that the sources of these rivers are distant from one another about two thousand five hundred stadia, διέχουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τῇ τε Ευφράτῃ καὶ τῇ Τίγρητος περί δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας σταδίας. I cannot omit, upon this occasion, an observation of the learned bishop of Avranches, who says that the name of Mount Taurus comes from the general word *toru*, which, in the Chaldaic language, signifies a *mountain*, and is applicable to every mountain in the world: this he confirms by the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, who, speaking of the building of Taurominium in Sicily, calls the mountain Taurus upon which it stood, *λόφος*, a *hill*. But it must be observed, that the mountain from whence the Euphrates rises, is more properly a branch of Mount Taurus, which Strabo, in the same book, calls Abos. Tournefort, who was upon the place, says, that the Euphrates has two sources rising out of that mountain, which sources form two beautiful rivulets, both called by the name of *Frat*; and that these rivulets make a kind of peninsula of the plain, in which Erzeron, the capital of Armenia, stands, and afterwards unite their streams at a village called Mommacotum, which, he says, is about three days' journey from Erzeron. I shall only add, that Moses, in his descrip-

tion of Paradise, calls this river *Phrath*, which the Septuagint has translated *Ευφράτης*: though, by the way, it is pretty plain these letters were not those made use of by Moses, since the Jews used the Samaritan letters till their captivity at Babylon, and adopted the Syriac or Chaldaic at their return.

² *Τελευταίαν φυλακήν*. The author of the *Etymologicum* thinks that *φυλακή* comes from *φυλή*: the reason he gives for it is “because the watches were kept by the tribes,” λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τὰς φυλακάς αἱ φυλαὶ εἶχον· ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ πρώτη φυλακή τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ δευτέρα, καὶ τρίτη· κατὰ γὰρ τρεῖς ὥρας ἐφύλαττε μια φυλή. “From thence,” says he, “they say the first, second, and third watch, because one tribe watched three hours.” The invention of these watches, together with that of many other military institutions, Pliny ascribes to Palemedes, “*Ordinem exercitus, signi dationem, Tesseras, Vigiliās inveni Palemedes Trojano bello.*”

³ *Ηλεγχου*. See note 37, page lx.

⁴ *Καὶ ἤν μὲν δείλη*. That is, the middle of the afternoon. See note 120, page xxxi.

⁵ *Χαράδραν*. See note 25, page lv.

⁶ *Ολοτρόχος ἀμαξιαίης*. *Ολότροχος* is here a substantive, like *όλοοιτροχος* in Homer, and used in the same sense with that in the following verse,

— *όλοοίτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης*
Οὐ τε κατὰ σεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάρρους ὥση,
Ρήξας ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης,
Τψι τ' ἀναθρώσκων πέτεται —

where *όλοοιτροχος* is thus explained by the Greek Scholiast, *λίθος περιφερῆς, στρογγύλος*. *Αμαξιαῖοι λίθοι* literally signifies stones so large, that each of them was a cart load, or what we call a ton weight.

⁷ *Διесφενδονῶντο*. This word happily expresses the impetuous dispersion of the splinters, when the stones were shattered by falling against the rocks. There is a passage in Euripides where this word, without the preposition, is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully, made use of to express the scattering of the limbs of Capaneus, when he was dashed to pieces by a thunderbolt just as he was scaling the battlements of Thebes:

Ἦδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γείσσα τειχέων
 Βάλλει κεραυνῷ Ζεὺς νιν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ
 Χθών, ὥς εἰ δαίμονας πάντας. ἐκ δὲ κλιμάκων
 Εσφενδονάτο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μέλη.
 Κόμαι μὲν εἰς Ολύμπον· αἶμα δ' εἰς χθόνα
 Κεῖρες δὲ καὶ κῶλ' ὥς κύκλωμ' Ἰξίονος
 Ελίσσεται· εἰς γῆν δ' ἔμπυρος πίπτει νεκρός.

“While o’er the battlements Capænus sprung,
 Jove struck him with his thunder, and the earth
 Resounded with the crack; meanwhile mankind
 Stood all aghast; from off the ladder’s height
 His limbs were far asunder hurl’d, his hair
 Flew tow’rds Olympus, to the ground his blood,
 His hands and feet whirl’d like Ixion’s wheel,
 And to the earth his flaming body fell.”

⁸ *Ανιμων.* From *ἰμάς*: but *ἀνιμῶν* in the best authors signifies to draw up any thing generally. So Dion Cassius uses the word, when he says Mark Antony begged of those who were about him to carry him to Cleopatra’s sepulchre, and draw him up to the top of it by the ropes that hung down to draw up the stones employed in the structure of it: *ἰκέτευσεν τὰς παρόντας, ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτὸν κομισωσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀγκυλὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνιμήσωσι.*

⁹ *Ὀρθιοῖς τοῖς λόχοις.* What *λόχος ὀρθιος*, or *φάλαγξ ὀρθία*, is, we may learn from Arrian in his *Tactics*: *ὀρθία (φάλαγξ)* says he, *ὅταν ἐπὶ κέρας (or κέρως) πορεύηται· ἔτω, δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς μήκης πολλαπλάσιον παρεχεται· ὅλως τε παράμηνες μὲν τάγμα ὀνομάζεται, ὅτε περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μήκος ἔχη ἐπιπλεῖον τῆς βάθους· ὀρθιον δὲ, ὅτε περὶ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς μήκης.* So that *ὀρθία φάλαγξ* is properly an army, and *λόχοι ὀρθιοί* are companies drawn up in columns, where, as Arrian says, there are many more men in depth than in front.

¹⁰ *Εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξέουσι, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῆς τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες.* This passage has, I find, very much puzzled the translators. Both Leunclavius and Hutchinson have attempted to amend it; but, without entering into the merits of those amendments, I shall produce a passage out of Arrian, which will, I believe, not only explain this, but also shew that no amendment at all is necessary. The passage I mean is, where he is speaking of the Indian archers, who, like these Carduchians in Xenophon, assisted themselves with

their left foot in drawing their strong bows. It is this, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι (τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι) τόξον τε ἔχουσιν ἰσόμηκες τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον· καὶ τῷτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες, καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, ὥτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες. Where Xenophon says προβαίνοντες, which all the translators have been desirous to alter, Arrian says ἀντιβάντες, which, I think, sufficiently explains it. The only thing that remains is to take away the comma after τόξον, that πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῷ τόξῳ may belong to τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες, and not to εἶλκον τὰς νευράς, as both Leunclavius and Hutchinson have translated it; the first having said *nervos, emissuri sagittas, versus imam partem arcus tendebant*; and Hutchinson, *nervos, cum sagittas missuri essent, ad imam arcus partem adducebant*: neither of which has any meaning, for I appeal to all my brother archers (having the honour to be of that number), or indeed to any other person, whether they understand what is meant by drawing the string to the lower part of the bow. After all this, I desire I may not be thought to claim any advantage over those two learned gentlemen by this discovery, since I am entirely persuaded, that had they chanced to cast their eyes upon Arrian, while the difficulties of this passage were fresh in their memories, which happened to be my case, they would have made the same or a better use of it. D'Ablancourt has left out that part of the passage that occasions the difficulty.

¹¹ Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. We find the posterity of these Carduchians using the same weapons with the same success against the Romans in the expedition of Marcus Crassus, the death of whose son, who was pierced by these irresistible arrows, is so pathetically described by Plutarch. Mark Antony also, and his men, in their unfortunate retreat, felt the violent effect of them, which drew from him this exclamation, Ω μύριοι! Happy the ten thousand Greeks, who being pursued by the same enemies, retreated with so much better success! But, alas! his thoughts and heart were in Egypt, whither he was hastening, for which reason all the disadvantages his army suffered from the Parthians were grievous to him, rather as they were delays than defeats.

¹² Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. I have translated this in the same sense Homer says of Ulysses and Eumæus,

Τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Οδυσσεὺς καὶ θεῖος Τροφῆδός
 Εντύνοντ' ἄριστον ἄμ' ἡοῖ. —

Where ἄριστον is thus explained by the Greek Scholiast, τὴν ἐωθινὴν τροφήν.

¹³ Λόχους ὀρθίας. See note 9, page lxiii.

¹⁴ Οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δέ αἱ γυναῖκες. The first is known to be a military shout, the other is properly a supplicatory acclamation of women: so Homer says of the Trojan women addressing their prayers to Minerva,

Αἰ δ' ὀλολυγῇ παῖσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον.

Upon which the Greek Scholiast observes, φωνὴ δὲ αὕτη γυναικῶν εὐχομένων θεοῖς.

¹⁵ Ἀνλία τὰ ὅπλα ἔθειο. See note 95, page xxiv.

¹⁶ Λόχον. See note 48, page xii.

¹⁷ Κατ' ἐνωμολίας. See note 30, page lvii.

¹⁸ Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος. This is the reverse of ἐπὶ κέρως, which was explained in note 9, page lxiii. As therefore ἐπὶ κέρως is a disposition, in which the depth very much exceeds the front, so ἐπὶ φάλαγγος is another, in which the front very much exceeds the depth.

¹⁹ Παρ' ἀσπίδας. All the ancient masters of tactics inform us, that ἐπὶ δόρυ κλῖνον, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλῖνον, were words of command among the Greeks for the foot: the first signifying "to the pike," that is, "to the right;" and the second, "to the shield," that is, "to the left;" and that the words of command for the horse were the same as to the first; but that, instead of the second, they said, ἐφ' ἡνίαν κλῖνον, "to the bridle."

²⁰ Ουραγῆς. These in Arrian are, what we call the bringers-up, that is, the hindmost men of every file.

²¹ Ἀκοντιστάς. The ἀκόντιον, or dart, was properly part of the arms both of the targeteers and light-armed men, as the reader will see, if he pleases to cast his eye on note 6, page ii. where he will also find that these were different corps, and differently armed; so that D'Ablancourt should not have comprehended under the general name of *gens de trait*, the targeteers, slingers, and archers, whom Cheirisophus sent to the relief of Xenophon.

²² Διηκυλισμένους, &c. Διηκυλίσθαι, τὸ ἐνεῖραι τὰς δακτύλους τῇ ἀλγύλῃ τῇ ἀκονίῃ. Hesychius. Ἀλγύλη is what the Romans called *amentum*, the thong or sling with which they lanced their darts.

²³ Ἀσπίς ψοφῇ. I have said "when the heavy-armed men struck their shields with their pikes," because the ἀσπίς, or shield, properly belonged to the heavy-armed men, as may be seen in note 6, page ii.; the light-armed men being ἀνευ ἀσπίδος, as Arrian says there, "without a shield," and the targeteers having πέλιν, "a target," instead of it. This custom of striking their shields with their pikes upon an attack, continued among the Greeks in Alexander's time, as may be seen in Arrian.

²⁴ Παιανίσαντες. See note 127, page xxxii.

²⁵ Ο σαλπικτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν. This seems to have deserved the attention of the commentators; τὸ πολεμικόν σημαίνειν, every body knows, signifies to "sound a charge," as τὸ ἀνακλητικόν σημαίνειν, "to sound a retreat:" why therefore should Xenophon order a charge to be sounded, when his men were to retreat? I imagine his intention was to make the enemy fly the faster, that so they might be at a greater distance from them, when they were engaged in passing the river; and this seems to have been the effect of it, for Xenophon will tell us presently, that when the trumpet sounded, the enemy fled much faster than before.

²⁶ Ἐπὶ δόρυ. See note 19, page lxxv.

²⁷ Ἐτέρων. I have followed the Eton manuscript in translating this word. Hutchinson says it should be Ἐταίρων, because Xenophon has very lately told us, that the soldiers had a great many mistresses with them; but in that case it should have been ἑταιρῶν, not ἑταίρων.

²⁸ Τῷ Σαλράπῃ. See note 5, page ii.

²⁹ Ουτος δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν ἔ, καλὸς δέ. Demetrius Phalereus gives great commendations to this period. He says, that by the conciseness of it, and its termination in δε, the author almost lays before our eyes the smallness of the river.

³⁰ Ουδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. I was desirous to excuse D'Ablancourt, when, in the Third Book, he made the Persians saddle their horses; but do not know what to allege in his defence upon this occasion, where he

has given them stirrups as well as saddles. I shall say no more than that "il lui tenoit l'etrier lorsqu'il montoit à cheval," is an unfortunate translation of βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. It is very well known that the ancients, having no stirrups, had a person, whom the Greeks called ἀναβολεύς, and the Latins *strator*, to lift them on horseback.

³¹ Επιπίπτει χιῶν ἄπληθος. Lest the veracity of our author should be suspected, when he speaks of deep snows and excessive frosts in Armenia, a country lying between the fortieth and forty-third degrees of latitude, I desire it may be considered that all authors, both ancient and modern, agree that the hills of this country are covered with snow ten months in the year. Tournefort, who was an eye-witness of it, thinks that the earth upon these hills, being impregnated with sal ammoniac, the cold occasioned by it may hinder the snow from melting: to support this, he says, that this salt being dissolved in any liquor, renders it excessive cold. This puts me in mind of an experiment mentioned by Boerhaave, as having been made by himself: he says, that four ounces of this salt being infused in twelve of water, generated twenty-eight degrees of cold; though I rather believe that the reason why the tops of mountains in the warmest climates are generally covered with snow, while the plains below are often parched with heat, is, because the atmosphere is vastly less compressed upon the top than at the foot of those mountains. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain. When Lucullus, in his expedition against Mithridates, marched through Armenia, his army suffered as much by the frost and snow, as the Greeks under Xenophon. And, when Alexander Severus returned through this country, many of his men lost their hands and feet through excessive cold. Tournefort also complains, that, at Erzeron, though situated in a plain, his fingers were so benumbed with cold, he could not write till an hour after sun-rise.

³² Τόξον Περσικόν. See page 103, where Tissaphernes attacks the Greeks.

³³ Σάλαριν. Σάλαρις. κοπίς. ἢ πέλκευς. Suidas. Where he quotes this passage.

³⁴ Εξελιμίασαν. The bulimy is a distemper creating excessive hunger. It is thus described, with all its symptoms,

by Galen: Βέλιμος ἐστὶ διαθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἐπιζήτησις ἐκ μικρῶν διαλειμμάτων γίνεσθαι τροφῆς. Εκλίσσονται δὲ καὶ καλαπιπίεσι, καὶ ἀχροῖσι, καὶ καλαψύχονται τὰ ἄκρα, θλίβονται τε τὸν σόμαχον, καὶ ὁ σφυγμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυδρὸς γίνεσθαι. "The bulimy is a disorder in which the patient frequently craves for victuals, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse scarce sensible." The French Philosophical Transactions speak of a countryman who was violently afflicted with this distemper, but was cured by voiding several worms of the length and bigness of a tobacco-pipe.

³⁵ Καρβατῖναι. Καρβατῖνη μὲν, ἀγροικὸν ὑποδήμα, κληθὲν ὑπὸ Καρῶν. Julius Pollux. I hope I shall be excused for calling these ὑποδήματα, "shoes." All the monuments of antiquity shew the ancients wore a kind of sandal instead of shoes, but, as this is not generally understood, I have chosen the latter.

³⁶ Οἶνος κριθίνος. Literally, barley wine. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Osiris, that is, the Egyptian Bacchus, was the inventor of malt liquor, as a relief to those countries where vines did not succeed, which is the reason assigned by Herodotus for the Egyptians using it. This was also the liquor used in France, till the time of the emperor Probus, when vines were first planted there. Pliny says they called it *cervisia*, a word probably derived from *cervoise*, which, among the ancient Gauls, signified beer. Julian, who was governor of France, before he was emperor, vents his spleen against malt liquor, which necessity, or rather ignorance, in his time, had made the drink of that country. As there is a good deal of poetry in the invention both of the person of this unknown Bacchus, and of his qualities, the reader may not be displeased to find the epigram here:

Τίς; πόθεν εἰ Διόνυσε; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον

Οὐ σ' ἐπιγινώσκω· τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.

Κεῖνος νέκταρ ὄδωδε· σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἦ ῥά σε Κελτοί,

Τῇ πενίῃ βοτρυῶν, τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσαχύων.

Τῷ σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον ἢ Διόνυσον,

Πυρογενὴ μᾶλλον, καὶ Βρόμον, ἢ Βρόμιον.

³⁷ Σκηναῖντας. Xenophon uses σκηνή in the same sense in his *Cyropædia*, where he says, τὴν σκηνήν εἰς κοίτην διέλυον,

“they dissolved the feast to retire to rest.” Hutchinson has supported this sense of the word from other passages out of our author. Had Leunclavius attended to them, he would not have rendered this passage *illos etiam milites & ab tectis reperiunt*. D’Ablancourt has said much better, *ils trouverent tout le monde à table*.

³⁸ Παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν. It must be observed that this is not the river Phasis which falls into the Euxine Sea, and to which sportsmen are obliged for the breed of pheasants. Delisle is of opinion, that the Phasis here mentioned is the Araxes, which falls into the Caspian Sea, the same whose impetuous course is so boldly described by Virgil,

————— Pontem indignatus Araxes.

³⁹ Παρήγειλε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τὰς λόχους, ὥπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. The translators do not seem to have attended to the force of the word *παράγειν* in this place; it is a military term, and signifies to bring up the files to the front, and march in a line, in which disposition Cheiriso-phus proposed to attack upon this occasion: this is called *παραγωγή* by Arrian, the reverse of which is *ἐπαγωγή*, as *ἐπίστατης* is of *παραστάτης*.

⁴⁰ Τμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκῶ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐς τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾷν. Those who among the Lacedæmonians were called *ὅμοιοι*, and among the Persians *ὁμότιμοι*, by the Greeks, under which name Xenophon often speaks of them in his Institution of Cyrus, agree very well with what the Gothic government calls “peers,” with us, and with the French, *pairs*, “persons of equal dignity.”

⁴¹ Δασὺ πίτυσι διαλείπουσας μεγάλας. The explication of *διαλείπουσαι*, brought by Hutchinson out of Suidas and Phavorinus, *ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι*, does not, in my opinion, give the author’s sense of it in this place. Nobody doubts but these pines grew at some distance from one another; but Xenophon means that they grew in groups, and then *διαλείπουσαι* will have the same sense with *διαταχθέντες* in the Second Book, where he speaks of the Rhodians being disposed in platoons; for groups in planting and painting are the same thing with platoons in tactics. D’Ablancourt has artfully avoided the difficulty, by saying generally, *semes de grands pins*.

⁴² Επιλαμβάνεται αὐτὸς τῆς ἵτιος. I am surprised to find ἵτιος

rendered, both by Leunclavius and Hutchinson, *umbo*, when Suidas has explained it so particularly by περιφέρεια ὄπλῃ, and to support that explanation, has quoted this very passage of Xenophon now before us; and, for fear this authority should not be thought sufficient to establish this sense of the word, the same author quotes part of an inscription on the shield of Alexander of Phyllos, where ἵτις is very particularly distinguished from ὀμφαλός, which is properly *umbo*.

Γηραλέα μὲν ἵτις πολέμων ὑπο, γηραλέα δὲ
Ομφαλόν. —————

D'Ablancourt has evaded this difficulty also, by translating it generally, “le prit en passant par son bouclier.” ἵτις therefore is what Homer calls ἄντυξ πυμάτη, where the ocean flowed in the divine shield which Vulcan made for Achilles,

Εν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Οκεανοῖο
Ἀντυγα πὰρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιετοῖο.

Which Mr. Pope has translated with his usual elegance and exactness,

“In living silver seem'd the waves to roll,
And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole.”

The Latin translators, therefore, ought to have rendered it *ora*, as Virgil has in that verse, where he speaks of the javelin thrown by Pallas at Turnus,

“————— Viam clypei molita per oras.
Tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.”

⁴³ Διὰ Χαλύβων. It is difficult to say what nation these were; I am sensible Diodorus Siculus calls them Chalcideans; but we are much in the dark as to them. The reader will, however, observe, that these Chalybians were a different people from those he will find mentioned by our author in the next Book.

⁴⁴ Μέχρι τῆς ἡτρε. Τὸ μέντοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν πᾶν, ἄχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ αἰδοῖα τριχώσεων, ἡτρόν τε καὶ ὑπογάστριον. Julius Pollux.

⁴⁵ Ἀντὶ τῶν πτερυγίων. These tassels, with which the skirts of ancient armour were adorned, are, by our author, in his Treatise of Horsemanship, called πτέρυγες, which he says should be so large, and in so great quantity, as to hide the lower part of the belly and thighs of the horseman, περὶ δὲ

τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κόλα αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔσωσαν, ὥς ἐγένετο τὰ μέλη.

⁴⁶ Ξυήλην. Ξυήλη· ξιφίδιον, ὃ τινες δρέπανον λέγουσι. Hesychius.

⁴⁷ Μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. This seems to have deserved some attention from the translators. What Xenophon calls λόγχη here, Julius Pollux, speaking of the different parts of a spear, calls αἰχμή. The sharp iron at the other end, with which they fixed their pikes in the ground, the same author calls σαρρωτήρ, after Homer, who describes the pikes of Diomedes and his companions in that posture,

— ἔγχεα δὲ σφιν

ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαρρωτήρος ἐλήλατο.—

I imagine the pikes of the Chalybians had not this lower iron.

⁴⁸ Ὄθεν πέντε ἡμερῶν ὄψονται θάλατταν. I do not know whether the Latin translators have rendered this passage with perspicuity enough; they have said, “a quo et unde dierum quinque spatio mare conspecturi essent.” Of which this seems to be the sense, that the guide said he would carry them to a place, from whence they should see the sea in five days after they arrived there; but this is not the sense of our author; for it is obvious from what follows, that the five days were to be counted from the time he began to conduct them, not from the time they arrived at the place to which he was to conduct them. Accordingly we find, that in five days he led them to the mountain, from which they saw the sea. D'Ablancourt has said much better, “il promet de montrer la mer aux soldats dans cinq jours.”

⁴⁹ Δαρεικὰς δέκα. See note 12, page iv.

⁵⁰ Τῶν Κόλχων. We have been a long time following Xenophon through countries, the greatest part of whose inhabitants are scarce known but by his history. We are now beginning to tread upon classical ground, where almost every mountain, every river, and every city, is rendered famous by the actions of the Greeks and Romans, but more so by their writings. The Colchians are immortalized by the Argonautic expedition, but their origin is not so generally known. Dionysius Periegetes, after Herodotus, makes them a colony of the Egyptians,

Πὰρ δὲ μυχὸν Πόντου, μετὰ χθόνα Τυνδαριδάων
 Κόλχοι ναιετάουσι, μετ' ἡλυδες Αἰγύπτου,
 Καυκάσῃ ἐγγὺς ἔοντες. —

Herodotus says they were either settled there by Sesostris, or, being unwilling to follow him any further, remained there. This he supports by several arguments, as that they were blacks, and had curled hair; but chiefly because the Colchians, the Egyptians, and Ethiopians, were the only people in the world that originally used circumcision; the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine themselves acknowledging that they learned it from the Egyptians: Herodotus adds, that the Egyptians and Colchians agreed also in their way of living, and spoke the same language. If, by the Syrians in Palestine, he means the Jews, as it is very probable, his opinion opens so large a field for argument, that to treat it cursorily would not be doing justice to a subject of so much consequence, and, to go the whole length of it, would be not only invading the province of gentlemen much more capable of discussing it than myself, but would also swell this annotation much beyond its due length.

⁵¹ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται ἐνθὺς. The reasons given here by Xenophon for attacking this mountain in columns, rather than in a line, being the same with those alleged by Polybius, in his Dissertation upon the Macedonian Phalanx, for the advantages which the Roman legions had over it, I thought the English reader would not be displeased with a translation of this Dissertation, wherein we find a much more particular description of the Macedonian phalanx, and of all its operations, than is to be met with in any other author—particularly, since the Seventeenth Book of Polybius, in which this Dissertation is, not being entire, has not, that I know of, been translated into our language. From the reasoning both of Xenophon and Polybius, it may be gathered that Philip, the son of Amyntas, and father to Alexander the Great, who we find, by Diodorus Siculus, instituted the Macedonian phalanx, did not improve the Greek discipline by that institution. As this Dissertation of Polybius is of too great a length to come in among the notes, I have given it a place at the end of the work.

⁵² Τὰ δὲ σμήνη. The accident here mentioned by Xeno-

phon, is accounted for by Pliny, and further explained by Tournefort. The first says there is a kind of honey found in this country, called, from its effect, *mænomenon*; that is, that those who eat of it are seized with madness. He adds, that the common opinion is, that this honey is gathered from the flowers of a plant called *rhododendros*, which is very common in those parts. Tournefort, when he was in that country, saw there two plants, which he calls *chamærhododendros*, the first with leaves like the medlar, and yellow flowers; the other with leaves like the *laurocerasus*, and purple flowers; this, he says, is probably the *rhododendros* of Pliny, because the people of the country look upon the honey that is gathered from its flowers to produce the effects described by Xenophon.

⁵³ Σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφκεσαν. *Ressembloient à des yvrognes*, says D'Ablancourt. Methinks he should have rather said *à des gens yvres*, for I believe it will be allowed, that, in his language, *un yvrogne* signifies an habitual drinker, and *un homme yvre*, a man who is actually drunk.

⁵⁴ Εἰς Τραπεζῆντα. As this was a Greek city, the Greeks found themselves here in safety, after their long and glorious march. The port, which is on the east of the town, was built by the emperor Adrian, as we find by Arrian, who, in his *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, which he dedicates to that emperor, says, "that he was making a port there, for, before, there was no more than a station, where ships could only ride at anchor, with safety, in the summer-time." ἐνταῦθα σὺ ποιεῖς λιμένα· πάλαι γὰρ ὅσον ἀποσαλεύειν ὥρα ἔτῃς, ὅρμος ἦν. Tournefort says this port is now called Platana, and is much neglected by the Turks.

⁵⁵ Στάδιον, Δόλιχον, Πάλην, Πύγμην, Παγκράτιον. The five games, so much celebrated in Greece, are contained in the following pentameter verse,

Ἀλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

Leaping, running, throwing of the disk, and of darts, and wrestling. The first is not here taken notice of; under the second is comprehended στάδιον and δόλιχος, the former being a course of six hundred feet, τὸ στάδιον ἔχει πόδας χ', Suidas; and the latter containing twenty-four stadia, ἔστι δὲ ὁ δόλιχος κδ' στάδια, Id. It is possible that παλη may, in that verse, be taken for ἀνακλινοπάλη, that is, that both boxing and

wrestling might be comprehended under the word *πάλη*, which, in that case, will be the same with *παγκράτιον*, since this consisted both of boxing and wrestling: *παγκρατιασταῖς ἀθληταῖς πύκταις, οἱ ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πυκτομαχῶσι*. Suidas. However, we find them distinguished by Xenophon upon this occasion.

⁵⁶ Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν. In this sense Horace uses the word *descendo*,

————— hic generosior

Descendat in campum petitor. —————

⁵⁷ Πρὸς τὸν Βωμόν. It is very probable, as Hutchinson has observed, that this altar might be one of those taken notice of by Arrian, in his *Periplus*, which, he says, were standing in his time, and built of rough stone.

⁵⁸ Ἀνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι. Not only the sense of the words, but their order, admirably represents the labour of the horses, in climbing the steep ascent. Homer has led the way in this, as in all other beauties both of thought and style. With what difficulty does Sisyphus crowd up the stone to the top of the hill?

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον —————

And then, with what celerity does it come bounding down?

————— ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

BOOK V.

¹ Πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν. Xenophon, as we shall see afterwards, perpetually uses *πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι*, “to travel by land,” in opposition to *πλεῖν*, “to travel by sea.” There is a very remarkable passage in the *Institution of Cyrus*, where our author, speaking of the posts instituted by the first Cyrus, says that these posts, performed by horses, were the most expeditious method of travelling by land, *τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορείων αὐτῇ ταχίσῃ*. But our author is not singular in this use of the word; Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the expedition of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, king of Cyprus, calls his

land army, though it consisted of horse, as well as foot, πεζὸν στρατευμα: his words are these; τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν στρατευμα μυριάδων ἦν τριάκοντα σὺν ἵππευσι. I imagine this sense of the word in Greek may have given occasion to the phrase *pedibus ire* in the Latin authors, and to Cæsar, in particular, to say, “Lucius Cæsar pedibus Adrametum profugerat.”

² Ωσπερ Οδυσσεύς. This relates to Ulysses arriving asleep in Ithaca, where the Phæacian sailors left him in that condition,

Καδδ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ ψαμάθῳ ἔθεσαν, δεδμημένον ὕπνῳ.

I mention this verse to shew that D'Ablancourt had no reason to excuse his leaving out *dormant*, by saying that it is only an ornament, and not a point of history.

³ Σὺν προνομαῖς. I suspect there is here some corruption in the text; I do not know what to make of σὺν προνομαῖς: Muretus has a mind it should be σὺν προδρομοῖς, but that does not satisfy: both the Latin translators have said *per excursiones*; but how could they get provisions otherwise than by excursions? D'Ablancourt has made very good sense of it by saying, *qu'on n'y aille point sans escorte*; but I do not think it can be shewn that προνομὴ signifies the escort that attends on foragers. I shall therefore venture to make a small variation in the text, a liberty I believe I have not above twice indulged before: it is this; I would read σὺν ἡγεμόσι instead of σὺν προνομαῖς: but in order to support this alteration, I find myself obliged to put the reader in mind of what our author says immediately before; he tells the men they will expose themselves, ἣν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύωνται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα: the first of these, I think, he guards against, by advising them to go out for provisions σὺν ἡγεμόσι. This reading seems to lead naturally to what he adds, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, and further to ἡμᾶς τῶτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Those who are acquainted with the ancient writers, must be sensible that there is so much method in them, and so close a connection between their general assertions and the detail of them, the latter perpetually growing out of the former, that I hope this alteration will not seem too violent, particularly where some was necessary. But there was another danger against which he was to warn them, and that related to private plunder, for that is the sense of ἐπὶ λείαν πορεύεσθαι, as it is particularly

distinguished from public expeditions in the Sixth Book, where Xenophon tells us the soldiers made an order that when the army staid in the camp, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἰέναι, the men were then allowed to go out for private plunder; and presently he will give us an account of the misfortune of Cleænetus, when the Greeks went out upon that account, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες: but, when he comes to the public expeditions of the army to get provisions, which he calls ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορεύεσθαι, and which were made in consequence of their resolution upon what he proposed, he there tells us that he himself took the guides appointed by the Trapezuntians, and led out one half of the army, leaving the other to guard the camp.

⁴ Ἐπεψήφισε μὲν εἰδέν. Leunclavius mistook this passage when he said *nihil sanxit*, which Hutchinson has properly explained by *nihil eos sententias rogavit*. Thus is ἐπεψήφισω made use of more than once by Thucydides, and in this sense he makes Nicias use it upon a very important occasion: the Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, resolved to send a fleet of sixty ships under his command, and that of Nicias and Lamachus, to assist the Egestæans against the Selinuntians, or rather to conquer Sicily. Five days after this resolution, there was another assembly of the people, where every thing that was necessary towards equipping and manning the fleet was to be provided. Here Nicias did all that was in his power to divert them from the expedition, and, after many very solid arguments to that purpose, he proposes to them to revoke their former votes, and leave the Sicilians to enjoy what they possessed, and compose those differences without their interposition. After proposing this, he calls upon the president of the assembly (if he thought it his duty to take care of the commonwealth, and desired to shew himself a good citizen), to put the question, and again to take the opinion of the Athenians; καὶ σὺ ὦ πρύτανι, ταῦτα (εἴπερ ἡγῇ σοὶ προσήκειν κήδεσθαί τε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ βάλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθός) ἐπιψήφισε, καὶ γνώμας προτίθει αὐθις Ἀθηναίοις. D'Ablancourt has said very carelessly, *ne laissa pas d'y donner ordre*.

⁵ Δεξίππον Λακωνικόν περίοικον. Hutchinson has rendered this *Dexippum Laconem istius loci accolam*, and D'Ablancourt, in the same sense, *qui demeuroit en ces quartiers là*. This I do

not take to be the sense of *περίοικος*, in this place, which I think Leunclavius has rendered very properly *Dexippum Laconem è Sparta vicinid*. The ancient authors, in treating of the affairs of the Lacedæmonians, almost always distinguish between the inhabitants of Sparta and those of Lacedæmon, that is, of the country adjoining to it; the former of whom, at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, consisted but of eight thousand men, and were looked upon as better soldiers than the latter; for we find Demaratus, in Herodotus, saying to Xerxes at the affair of Thermopylæ, ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα· καὶ ἔτοι πάντες ὁμοῖοι εἰσι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἱ γε μὴν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τέτοιαι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. These inhabitants of the country of Lacedæmon are particularly called *περίοικοι* by Strabo, whom, he tells us, were freed by the Romans, when those of Sparta were under the oppression of their tyrants.

⁶ Χαράδρα. See note 25, page lv.

⁷ Τέλος τῆς ἐξόδου. Hutchinson understands *ἐξόδος* in this place to relate to the retreat of the Greeks from the place, where they seem to have engaged themselves rashly: I have rather chosen to explain it of their excursion in quest of provisions, which sense I find Leunclavius has followed.

⁸ Διηγκυλισμένους ἰέναι. See note 22, page lxvi.

⁹ Vide note 127, page xxxii.

¹⁰ Εἰς Κερασούντα. Cerazunt was the place whence Lucullus, in his return from his expedition against Mithridates, brought cherry trees into Italy, in the year of Rome 680: one hundred and twenty years after that they were carried into Britain: they seem to have had their name from this city, or the city from them. Tournefort tells us that he found all the hills, in the neighbourhood of it, covered with those trees. Cezarunt was afterwards called Pharnaceia, though Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny make them different towns.

¹¹ Οτε ἀπῆει σὺν Αἰγισιλᾷ. See the Life of Xenophon prefixed to this translation, where this and many other subsequent passages are explained.

¹² Κόγχαι. Under the title of *κόγχαι* in Greek, and *conchæ* in Latin, are comprehended the infinite variety of shell-fish described by Pliny; most of which, I dare say, I have seen in

Sir Hans Sloane's magnificent and curious collection of the product of all the four parts of the earth; which collection I look upon as a much better comment upon that author, than all that has been written to explain him.

¹³ Εποίησε δὲ καὶ ναόν, &c. Pausanias tells us that near to this temple stood a monument, said to be erected for Xenophon, with his statue in Penteliesian marble. The quarry of this marble, so much celebrated among the statuaries, was upon a mountain of that name near Athens; whatever merit this marble might have, we find in Pliny that the first statuaries made use of no other than that of Paros, though, since that time, he says, many whiter kinds of marble have been discovered, and, not long before he writ, in the quarries of Luna, a sea-port town of Tuscany. I have lately seen, in the hands of a very curious person, a piece of marble just brought from the island of Paros; it is exceeding white, and sparkles like the fragments of the most ancient statues, which, by these circumstances, as well as by the authority of the best authors, plainly appear to have been of that marble.

¹⁴ Δορκάδες. See note 80, page xxi. The mountain Pholoe in Arcadia was famous for all sorts of game.

¹⁵ Ο δὲ ναὸς, ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ εἴκασται· καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ. Hutchinson has, upon this occasion, quoted a passage out of Pliny, wherein that author gives the dimensions of the temple of Ephesus; but it must be observed, that the temple, there described by Pliny, was not in being at the time of our author; since it was only begun after the first was burned down by Herostratus, which happened the same night Alexander the Great was born, that is, in the Attic month Boëdromion (September), in the first year of the 106th Olympiad: which gave occasion to Timæus, the historian, to say, that it was no wonder Diana's temple was burned, since the goddess was from home attending Olympias in her labour. The temple therefore which was burned down by Herostratus, not that described by Pliny (which was not begun till some years after Xenophon's death, and was 220 years in building), must have been the model of the temple built by Xenophon at Scilus. The last temple of Ephesus, Alexander, it seems, was so desirous to have inscribed with his name, that he

offered the Ephesians to bear all the expense they had been and should be at in building it, provided they would consent to the inscription. This they refused with as great vanity as he desired it; but, being sensible that a flat denial might be attended with dangerous consequences, they clothed theirs with a piece of flattery, and told Alexander that it was not decent for one god to dedicate temples to another. The same judgment is to be made of the quotation brought by Hutchinson out of Pliny, in relation to the wood of which the statue of the Ephesian Diana was made, since we find, by this passage of Xenophon, that the statue in the first temple was of gold. I am apt to believe, also, that the representations of the Ephesian Diana, which are to be met with in several monuments of antiquity, are all taken from the statue in the last temple. The great number of breasts, with which the body of this statue is surrounded (from which she was called *multimammia*, πολύμαστος), confirm the opinion of some learned men, that the Egyptian Isis, and the Greek Diana, were the same divinity with Rhœa, from the Hebrew word רעה *Rahah*, “to feed.” The Diana of Ephesus also, like Rhœa, or Cybele, was crowned with turrets, which symbol of Rhœa, together with her fecundity, are both set forth in those beautiful verses, where Virgil compares Rome to this goddess—

“ En hujus, Nate, Auspiciis illa inclyta Roma
Imperium Terris, animos æquabit Olympo :
Septemque una sibi Muro circumdabit Arces,
Felix Prole virum : qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrita per urbes,
Læta Deum partu, centum, complexa Nepotes,
Omnes Cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.”

I am surprised that Montfaucon, in his account of the Diana of Ephesus, and of the various representations of that goddess, does not distinguish between the two temples and the two statues, but contents himself with quoting the same passage out of Pliny, to shew the different opinions of people concerning the wood of which the statue was made. But, to return to the Greek Diana, the Phrygian Rhœa, or the Egyptian Isis, all emblems of fecundity, it is very observable that almost all the statues of the Ephesian Diana have a crab upon the breast; of which Montfaucon, after he has given the opinions of the antiquaries, says the signification

is uncertain. However uncertain it may be, I beg I may be allowed to offer a conjecture about it. Every one agrees that the representation of the Ephesian Diana was taken from the Egyptian Isis, and all authors, both ancient and modern, affirm that the overflowing of the Nile becomes remarkable generally at the summer solstice; how then could the Egyptians represent fertility better than by placing on the breast of their goddess Isis, or universal Nature, that Sign in the Zodiac, which denotes the summer solstice, when the fertile water of the Nile begins to diffuse plenty over the face of their country? This hieroglyphical manner of representing fertility is agreeable to the genius of the Egyptians, who seem to have pursued it in the composition of their fictitious animal, the sphinx, a figure composed of the body of a lion, and the head of a virgin, with the same view of denoting plenty spread over Egypt by the overflowing of the Nile, during the time the sun passes through the signs of the Lion and Virgin, which immediately follow the summer solstice, שפח *Sphang*, in Hebrew, from whence the word Sphinx is visibly derived, signifying *overflowing*.

¹⁶ Μοσυνοίκων. The Mosynoecians are thus paraphrased by Dionysius Periegetes,

— οὐ μόνον αὖτ' ἔχουσιν
Δερατέες. —

Upon which Eustathius observes, λέγει μόνον αὖτ' ἔχειν δερατέες ἦγαν ξυλίνες. It seems the Greeks gave them the name of Mosynoecians, from the wooden towers they inhabited, μόσυν signifying, in Greek, a “wooden tower.”

¹⁷ Στρωματόδεσμος. It was in one of these sacks that Cleopatra conveyed herself in order to deceive Cæsar's guards, and solicit him against her brother; ἀπόρρ δέ, says Plutarch, τῷ λαθεῖν ὄντος ἄλλως, ἡ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδύσα, προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτήν· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱμάντι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον, εἰσκομίζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

¹⁸ Κρώβυλον. I shall quote a passage of Thucydides upon this occasion, not only to explain the signification of this word, but also because the passage itself contains an account of a very odd dress in use among the Athenians of old, with the observation of the Greek Scholiast upon it. Thucydides tells us, that not long before his time, the old men at Athens,

of the richer sort, wore linen vests, and the braids of their hair, interwoven with golden grasshoppers : και οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον, ἢ πολὺς χρόνος ἔπειδὴ χιτῶνας τε λινεὺς ἐκάυσαντο φορέντες, και χρυσῶν τετλίγων ἐνέρσει κρώβυλον ἀναδέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. The Greek Scholiast, in his observation upon this passage, fully explains the word Κρώβυλος, made use of by Xenophon in that now before us : Κρώβυλος, says he, ἐστὶν εἶδος πλεγματος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων εἰς ὅξυ ἀπολήγον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, κρώβυλος· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν, κόρυμβος· τῶν δὲ παίδων σκορπίος——ἐφόρην δὲ τέτλιγας, διὰ τὸ μυσικόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονας εἶναι, και γὰρ τὸ ζῶον γηγενές. And this is the sense I have given to the word Κρώβυλος in my translation of this passage. The last reason given by the Greek Scholiast for the Athenians wearing grasshoppers in their hair seems the best founded, that is, that they did it to shew they were the original inhabitants of the country ; for every body knows this was their pretension. I am at a loss to know what induced D'Ablancourt to translate Κρώβυλος, *un cerele de Fer*. He has been equally unfortunate in rendering the following passage—χιτωνίσκας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, “ ils avoient des cottes d'armes qui leur passoient les genoux.”

¹⁹ Νόμῳ τινὶ ἄδοντες. Νόμος is used in the same sense by Herodotus, where, speaking of the adventure of Arion, he says, τὸν δὲ (Ἀρίονα) ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν, και λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, πάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδώλοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον.

²⁰ Ζεῖαί. Ζεῖα, or Ζέα, in Greek, is what the Romans called *far*, as we find very particularly in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, where, speaking of the matrimonial ceremony, by them called “ *confarreatio*,” he says it had its name ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς φαῤῥός, ὃ καλεῖμεν ἡμεῖς ζέα : I am apt to believe it was what we call Spelt. Pliny says the epithet of ζείδωρος, which Homer gives so often to ἄρρα, is derived from ζέα, not from ζῆν, according to the general opinion.

²¹ Κάρυα τὰ πλατέα ἐκ ἔχοντα διαφυὴν ἐδεμίαν. Literally, “ flat nuts without any cleft ;” Κάρυα signifies *nuts* in general ; by these additions they are distinguished both from common nuts and walnuts.

²² Εσιγμένους ἀνθέμιον. I am not at all surprised that the translators are puzzled at the word ἀνθέμιον in this place, for

I believe it is no easy matter to find it used in this sense by any author. Hutchinson has said, after Leunclavius, *picturâ floridâ distinctis*, which though I am far from condemning, yet I think ἀνθεμόεν is the word used by all authors in that sense. This is the epithet Homer gives to the bason or charger, which Achilles proposes as one of the prizes to the victor in throwing the dart,

Καδδὲ λέβητ' ἄπυρόν βοός ἄξιον ἀνθεμόεντα
Θῆκ' ἐς ἀγῶνα φέρων————

Which Mr. Pope has translated, as he ever does, with great propriety,

“ An ample charger of unsullied frame,
With flow'rs high-wrought.”————

The Lexicons are as silent, in relation to this sense of the word ἀνθέμιον, as the authors. Hesychius says it signifies “ a winding line in pillars,” γραμμὴ τις ἐλικοειδῆς ἐν τοῖς κίονι, I suppose he means “ twisted pillars;” it is therefore submitted to the reader, whether Xenophon may not say that the foreparts of these people were impressed with this kind of flourishes. D'Ablancourt has said, with great art and little fidelity, “ ils avoient le dos et l'estomach peint de diverses couleurs;” by this means he has left out ἀνθέμιον. The custom, mentioned by Xenophon, to have been in practice among the Mosynœcians, of painting their bodies, was also used by our ancestors, as we find in Cæsar, who says that all the Britons painted themselves with woad, which makes a blue dye. “ Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleam efficit colorem.” This word *vitrum* has, I find, puzzled the commentators; but it signifies here the plant which the Greeks call ἰσάτις, in English *woad*, a plant well known to the dyers, who use great quantities of it to make their blue dye. “ Herba,” says Marcellus Empiricus, “ quam nos vitrum, Græci Isatida vocant.” The French called this herb, in Pliny's time, *glastum*, and, to this day, they call it *guesde* as well as *pastel*. I am informed that the Welsh, as well as the inhabitants of Lower Brittany in France, still call it glass; so that it is probable the equivocal application of *vitrum* may have given occasion to the equivocal sense of the word glass.

²³ Ἐντε γὰρ ὀχλῶ ὄντες. This account of the very odd

manners of this people is transcribed almost word for word by Eustathius, in his notes upon Dionysius Periegetes. Upon this occasion, I cannot help mentioning what Strabo says of the Irish, φανερώς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ, καὶ Μητράσι καὶ Ἀδελφαῖς: but, lest we should think ourselves less barbarous than our neighbours, Cæsar says the same thing of the Britons.

²⁴ Εἰς Χάλυβας. Strabo is of opinion that these were the same with the Alizonians mentioned by Homer,

Αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Οδῖος δὲ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
Τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρε ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

And that either the poet writ ἐκ καλύβης, or that the inhabitants were originally called Alybians. By this passage of Homer, it seems they were at that time as famous for their mines of silver as they were afterwards for those of iron.

²⁵ Τιβαρηνέες. These were called, by Dionysius Periegetes, πολυῤῥηγες Τιβαρηνοί, which epithet agrees very well with the account our author gives of their country.

²⁶ Κοτύωρα. This town was no more than a village in Arrian's time, and, as he says, a small one.

²⁷ Κατ' ἔθνος. Leunclavius has translated this, I think, properly, "Græcis per singulas nationes distinctis;" and Hutchinson, who takes notice of this translation of Leunclavius in his notes without any mark of disapprobation, has however chosen to render it, "quisque pro more gentis;" I own I doubt whether κατὰ ἔθνος signifies "pro more gentis." By the little acquaintance I have had with the Greek authors, I observe that κατὰ τὰ πατρία is almost always the expression they make use of upon that occasion.

²⁸ Ἱερὰ συμβεβηλή. We find by this passage of Xenophon, and by another in Plato, that it was a common saying among the Greeks, that "counsel was a divine thing." "If," says the latter to Demodocus, "counsel is called a divine thing, none can be more so than that which relates to the present question;" this was education, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ὧς Δημόδοκε, καὶ λέγεται γε συμβεβηλὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι. Εἵπερ ἔν καὶ ἄλλη ἥτις ἔστιν ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἂν εἴη, περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συλβελεύῃ. D'Ablancourt was sensible this parenthesis could have no grace in a modern language; but I doubt whether that reason will be thought to justify his leaving it out.

²⁹ Τὸν Θερμῶδοντα. See note 16, upon the Sixth Book.

³⁰ Ἰριν. This river rises out of the kingdom of Pontus, and, having received the Lycus, runs through the plain of Themiscyra, and, from thence, falls into the Euxine Sea.

³¹ Ἀλυν. See note 17, upon the Sixth Book.

³² Παρθένιος. See note 18, upon the Sixth Book.

³³ Δαρεϊκός. See note 12, page iv.

³⁴ Ἀπὸ νημηνίας. We find by several passages in Xenophon and other authors, that the soldiers among the Greeks received their pay monthly. The interest of money was also payable monthly among the Greeks, as it was among the Romans. As the payment both of the principal and interest, and the rigorous methods allowed by law to compel it, often occasioned great convulsions among the latter, it may not be amiss to make some cursory observations upon this subject, particularly since Dacier, in his notes upon Horace, and many other modern authors, have very much misrepresented it. It is certain, then, that this monthly interest was one per cent. by the law of the twelve tables, that is, twelve per cent. per annum; this they called "unciarium fœnus:" and, what is very extraordinary, Livy says, that by the establishment of this interest, usury was made easy, "unciarior fœnore facto levata usura erat;" an evident sign of the scarcity of money; but then it must be considered, that the year to which this reflection of Livy relates, was so early as the 399th of Rome. Afterwards, that is, in the 408th year of Rome, T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Plautius being consuls, this monthly interest was reduced to half per cent., that is, to six per cent. per annum, "semunciarium ex unciario fœnus factum." But to return to the νημηνια: the year of the Greeks was luni-solar, that is, formed of twelve synodical months, making in all but 354 days, with an intercalation of seven months in nineteen years, invented by Meton (from whom it was called Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός), to answer the annual difference of eleven days between the lunar and solar year; this was their civil year; and, as their new year began at the first new moon after the summer solstice (the Romans beginning theirs at the first after the winter solstice), it necessarily happened that the first day of the year of both began about sun-set, for at that time only the new moon became visible. It is very possible that the cres-

cent with which Diana is represented, is owing to the custom of proclaiming the new moon, particularly if, as I observed upon another occasion, Diana and the Egyptian Isis, who is often represented with a crescent upon her head, were the same divinity. This ceremony of proclaiming the new moon still continues in the Levant, where the Turks, whose year is lunar, publish, with great solemnity, the first appearance of the new moon of their month of Ramazan, which is their Lent.

³⁵ Κυζικηνόν. Hesychius and Phavorinus inform us, that the Cyzicene was a coin famous for being well struck, and that it had a woman's head on one side; to which Suidas adds, that, on the other, was the head of a lion. Demosthenes tells us they were worth twenty-eight Attic drachms, that is, 18s. and 1d. sterling. The woman's head is possibly Cybele, who was supposed to be drawn by lions, and who was worshipped in a particular manner at Pessinus in Phrygia, not far from Cyzicus, whose tutelar god, however, was, I imagine, Hercules, whom they looked upon as the founder of their city, as may be seen by a medal of Domitian, on the reverse of which is a Hercules, with this inscription—TON ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. But we have great reason to conclude that the woman's head is designed for Cybele, from what we find in Strabo, who says, that near to Cyzicus stood a temple of Cybele, built by the Argonauts, upon the mountain Dindymon, from which Cybele was called Dindymene. This being so, the globe and the fish, and particularly the ears of corn and bunches of grapes with which she is crowned, will be very proper symbols of universal nature, which, as I endeavoured to shew upon another occasion, was represented by Cybele. D'Ablancourt is of opinion that the Turkish sequin is derived from Cyziquin; but Menage says that it comes from the Italian zecchino, a Venetian ducat, which takes its name from Zecca, the place where it is coined.

³⁶ Μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας. This appears to me far preferable to μισθὸν τῆς πορείας: it not only makes the sense stronger, but seems to be the natural result of σωζομένους, which immediately precedes it. I am sorry to differ both from Leunclavius and Hutchinson upon this occasion. D'Ablancourt has said *de recevoir recompense pour retourner en votre país*, which

gives the sense, but not the beauty, of the Greek expression.

³⁷ Επεψηφικῶς. See note 4, page lxxvi.

³⁸ Παρίημι. Nicias, at the close of one of his speeches to the Athenians, uses this word in the same sense, with the addition of ἀρχήν· εἰ δέ τῳ ἄλλῳ δοκεῖ, παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν.

³⁹ Παῖε, Παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε. Literally, “attack them both sword in hand and with missive weapons,” *cominus eminusque incesse*; which I should think might do as well as *cæde, cæde, feri, feri*, in the Latin translators. I have considered the Greeks here as a mob, which they were upon this occasion, and have consequently made use of terms very familiar to an English mob in tumults. For the same reason I think D’Ablancourt has said very properly *tüe, tüe*; though I am very sensible that the French troops use this word when they pursue the enemy, as they call it, *l’épée dans les reins*.

⁴⁰ Ὡς ἂν ἐωρακότες τὸ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα. If the Latin translators, by rendering this *ut qui facinus apud se designatum etiam vidissent*, mean *perpetratum*, I think that signification of the word *designo* is too uncommon for a translation; but if they mean it in the ordinary acceptation of the word, the fact was not only *designatum*, but *commisum*; for what is said of the fear of the inhabitants of Cerazunt visibly relates to the outrage committed by the Greeks upon the persons of the three ambassadors, who were stoned to death in their town. D’Ablancourt has, I think, said much better, *instruits parce qui s’étoit passé dans leur ville*.

⁴¹ Σὺν κηρυκίῳ. Κηρύκιον or Κηρύκειον, for it is written both ways, was the caduceus which heralds carried in their hands, when they were sent upon public occasions from one army to another. It is particularly described by the Greek Scholiast upon Thucydides; but so many bas-reliefs, and other monuments of antiquity, represent Mercury with his caduceus in his hand, that I think it needless to translate what he says of it. It is reported to have been a present from Apollo to Mercury, in exchange for the harp, which tradition I find, by Diodorus Siculus, was derived from the Egyptians.

⁴² Παραινῆντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος — ἔδοξε καὶ καθαίρειν τὸ σπράτευμα. Xenophon seems to imitate Agamemnon upon this oc-

casion, who, as Homer tells us, having at last sent Chryseis back to her father with a hetacomb, to appease the anger of Apollo, orders the Greek army to be purified, and it was purified accordingly :

Λαὸς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγεν,
Οἱ δ' ἀπολυμαίναντο, καὶ εἰς ἄλλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον.

Thus translated by Mr. Pope :

“ The host to expiate, next the king prepares,
With pure lustrations, and with solemn pray'rs,
Wash'd by the briny wave, the pious train
Are cleans'd ; and cast th' ablutions in the main.”

There can be no doubt, as Mr. Pope has very properly observed from Eustathius, that λύματα is derived from λέω, which justifies him in the use of the word “ablutions,” a word much more decent than those made use of upon this occasion by all former translators. It was a prevailing opinion, it seems, among the ancients, that the water of the sea had a sovereign virtue in expiations : it was from this opinion that Iphigenia says in Euripides,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

⁴³ Τῶν Γαυλιτικῶν χρημάτων. The ancient Lexicons say that Γαύλος signifies a certain kind of ship used by the Phœnicians, but I find Γαυλὸς in Herodotus for a Phœnician ship, where he says that “Dionysius of Phocæa.....sailed to Phœnicia, and having sunk the merchant ships and taken a great booty, sailed to Sicily,” Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς.....ἔπλεε εἰς Φοινίκην· γαυλὲς δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας, καὶ χρηματὰ λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλεε εἰς Σικελίην : so that γαυλικὰ χρήματα may, no doubt, signify the freight of those ships ; but in this place I imagine it means the cargoes of those ships the Greeks had taken, which cargoes our author, in the beginning of this Book, calls ἀγώγιμα : he also says, in the same place, that “the Greeks, having taken out the cargoes of these ships, appointed guards to take care of them.” It is very probable that Philesius and Xanthicles might have the command of these guards, and consequently the charge of these effects, and that they might have embezzled as much of them as amounted to twenty mines : if the reader will cast his eye on note 54, page xiii. Book I. he will find that χρήματα is often made use of by the best authors to signify effects. There seems to be so great a relation between

this passage, and that in the beginning of this Book, that I cannot approve of *pecuniam de navigiis coactam* in Leunclavius and Hutchinson, and much less of *du prix des navires* in D'Ablancourt.

⁴⁴ Τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστικότερος εἶναι. Every body knows that asses, and mules, their offspring, have such an inbred viciousness, that no fatigue can subdue it.

⁴⁵ Τυρότητα. Τυρότης, in this place, is used by Xenophon in the same sense in which the Greeks say ὑγραὶ ἀγκάλαι, which Horace has finely translated in that ode, where he represents the false Neæra holding him in her arms, while she swears fidelity to him.

Arctius atque hederâ procera astringitur ilex,
Lentis adhærens brachiis.

And when our author, in his Art of Horsemanship, recommends a colt that moves his knees with freedom, he says τάγε μὴν γόνατα ἦν βαδίζων ὁ πῶκος ὑγρῶς κάμπτη.

⁴⁶ Πρωρεύς. Πρωρεὺς in Greek, and *proreta* in Latin, signify an officer, whose business it was to keep a look-out, as the sailors call it, at the head of the ship. I am informed that we have no term in our naval institution, that properly explains it; that of pilot, the gentlemen of the navy tell me, comes the nearest to it.

⁴⁷ Ψήφες. Ψῆφος signifies literally “a pebble;” and as the Greeks gave their votes with these, their votes came to be called ψῆφοι: this, literally translated, would not be intelligible to an English reader, so that it seems necessary to render it in such a manner as may relate to our customs; and as every person who votes by ballot puts a billet into the ballot-box, signifying his sense of the question, I thought ψῆφοι could not, upon this occasion, be properly translated by any other word than billets. D'Ablancourt seems to have been sensible of the difficulty of translating ψῆφοι with propriety, by his leaving it out.

⁴⁸ Περιεγένετο. Both the Latin translators have said *hie exitus erat*: I have rather chosen to render it in the same sense in which Thucydides uses the word in the speech of the Corinthians to the Lacedæmonians, where they tell them, that, in the war between them and the Athenians, they often owed the advantages they gained to the oversights of the enemy,

rather than to the assistance they received from the Lacedæmonians: *και πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς αἰμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μάλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρία περιγεγεννημένους.* So that I imagine Xenophon means that at his trial he had the advantage over his enemies, that is, he was acquitted.

BOOK VI.

¹ *Σπινθάσιν.* This is the explication given by Hesychius and Phavorinus of *σιθαῖς*.

² *Ἀδων Σιτάλλαν.* Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus Siculus speak much in commendation of Sitalces, king of Thracia, in whose honour, no doubt, this song of victory was composed by the Thracians: Thucydides tells us that he was slain in a battle against the Triballians, and that his nephew Seuthes succeeded him. As this happened the first year of the 89th Olympiad, that is, the eighth of the Peloponnesian war, and only twenty years before the time of this expedition, it is possible this Seuthes may be the prince in whose service the Greeks engaged, as we shall find in the Seventh Book; though I am sensible that Thucydides makes him the son of Sparadocus, and Xenophon of Mæsadæ.

³ *Αἰνιᾶνες και Μάγνητες.* Possibly the first might belong to Ænea, a town said by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to have been built by Æneas, after the taking of Troy.

[†] *Οἱ ὠρχῶντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλεβμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.* The pantomime representation of the ancients is so often confounded, in translations of their works into modern languages, with what is now called dancing, that I think myself obliged to explain my sense of this passage, in order to prevent my translation of it from being thought to fall under the general mistake. It is certain that the Greeks and Romans had, besides their tragedies and comedies, a mute pantomime representation, which was called by the former *ὄρχησις*, and by the latter *saltutio*. This is that representation, in praise of which Lucian has written a particular treatise: what he designed for praise, we may make use of for information. After having run through a detail of the vast knowledge an *ὄρχηστής*

or pantomime ought to be master of, he says, that, as his profession consists in imitation, and as he undertakes to represent, by his gestures, what the chorus sings or recites, his chief business is perspicuity, to the end that none of his actions may stand in need of an explanation, but that the spectators may, like the Pythian oracle, understand the pantomime though mute, and hear him though he does not speak. By the way, the Greek verse attributed to the Pythian oracle, to which Lucian alludes, is preserved by Plutarch,

Καὶ κωφεὶ συνίημι καὶ ἑ λαλέοντος ἀκέω.

Upon this occasion Lucian tells a story of a famous pantomime in Nero's time, who, to shew the excellence of his art to Demetrius the Cynic, commanded the music, and even the chorus, to be silent, while he represented by himself (ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὠρχήσατο) the Amour of Venus and Mars, the Sun giving information, and Vulcan catching them both in a net, the gods standing by, Venus blushing, and Mars trembling and asking forgiveness. Lucian adds, that Demetrius was so well pleased with the performance, that he cried out, "I not only see, but hear, what you represent, for you seem even to speak with your hands." The reader will pardon this short dissertation upon an art, which is so far lost, that it is thought by many never to have existed. Lucian applies the word ὀρχόμενος with great humour to the unfortunate companion of his captivity and his labour, as he calls him, τὸν ἀθλίον κοινωνὸν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ τῆς ἀχθοφορίας, I mean the poor ass, that was thrown down the precipice, upon which he says ὁ δὲ, ἀπῆει κάτω, τὸν θάνατον ὀρχόμενος, which I do not translate, because I cannot. The dance here mentioned by Xenophon, is by Hesychius called a Macedonian dance: it is so particularly described by Xenophon, that I think I may venture to call it, after him, the Carpæan dance, without translating the word.

⁵ Μάχεται πρὸ τῆς ζεύγους. Both the Latin translators have said *ante jugum dimicat*, which D'Ablancourt has followed; but as πρὸ is very frequently used in the sense I have given it upon this occasion, that is, for ὑπὲρ, I thought it more natural to say that the husbandman fought with the robber "in defence" of his oxen, than "before" them, particularly as the oxen seem to be the prize contended for; since, when the robber gets the better, he drives away the oxen. But if there can be any

doubt whether *πρὸ* is used in this sense, the following passage in Euripides will clear it up; it is in *Alcestis*, where Admetus says to Pheres,

Οὐκ ἠθέλησας, ὅδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν

Τῷ σὺ πρὸ παιδός. —————

⁶ Τοτὲ δὲ ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα. Homer tells us that Vulcan represented two dancers performing a dance of this kind upon Achilles's shield,

————— δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστῆρε κατ' αὐτῷ

Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσης.

And Tournéfort says that the Turkish dervises preserve this kind of dancing, which they make a religious ceremony; and that, upon a signal from their superior, they turn round with an amazing velocity.

⁷ Πυρρίχην. This dance is called by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Hesychius ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις, the first leaving it in doubt whether Minerva or the Curetes were the authors of it; and the second, whether one Pyrrichus, a Cretan, or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, was the inventor of it.

⁸ Ἀρμύνην. Both Strabo and Arrian make mention of Armene, or Harmene, as a sea-port belonging to Sinope, from which the former says it was distant fifty stadia, and the latter forty. Herodotus says, that the Cimmerians, flying from the Scythians into Asia, built a town upon the peninsula, where Sinope, a Greek city, now stands. But we find by Strabo, that the inhabitants of Sinope looked upon Autolycus, one of the Argonauts, to be their founder, whose statue, made by Sthenis, Lucullus carried away when he took the town. The same author tells us, that the Milesians, observing the advantageous situation of the place, and the weakness of the inhabitants, sent a colony thither. And by the account that author gives of Sinope, no city could be more advantageously situated; for he says it stood upon the isthmus that joined the peninsula to the main land, having on each side a sea-port, where great quantities of the tunny fish were taken as they swam along the Asiatic coast, from the Paulus Mæotis, where they are bred, to the Bosphorus. He adds, that the peninsula was surrounded with sharp rocks, which made the access to it very difficult; that the land above the town was very fertile, and disposed into gardens; and that the city was well built,

and adorned with a place of exercise, a market, and magnificent porticoes. This account, both of the situation of Sinope and of the country round it, is confirmed by Tournefort, who was there himself; and, in the relation he gives of it, is grievously out of humour with the modern geographers for taking no notice either of the peninsula, or of the sea-ports lying on each side of it. Sinope is famous for having given birth to two considerable men of very different characters, Diogenes the Cynic philosopher, and the great Mithridates. Strabo says it was in his time (that is, in the reign of Augustus) a Roman colony.—I cannot part with this subject without taking notice that Sinope furnished the ancient painters with a red earth, which was one of the four colours with which alone, Pliny tells us, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, Nicomachus painted those immortal works: “quatuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere: ex Albis Melino, ex Silaciis Attico, ex Rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris Atramento, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, Nicomachus.”

⁹ Μεδίμνος. Μέδιμνος — μέτρον ἐς ἡ ξηρῶν, οἷον πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· ἔχει δὲ χρίνικας ὀκτώ και τεσσαράκοντα. Harpocration. So that the medimnus was a dry measure, containing forty-eight chœnixes, each of which Arbuthnot makes equal to an English pint: but then he says a medimnus contains four pecks and six pints, which is a mistake; for if, as he says, sixteen pints make a peck, it is plain that forty-eight pints will make but three pecks: so that, in reality, a medimnus is equal to three English pecks.

¹⁰ Κεράμια. Κεράμιον, τὸ τῷ ὕδατος σαμνίον. Hesychius. And in another place Κάδος, κεράμιον. Now the cadus Arbuthnot makes equal to the metretes, which he says contains ten gallons two pints; so that Κεράμιον, upon these authorities, will be a liquid measure containing ten gallons two pints.

¹¹ Ηγήσαντο ἓν, εἰ ἓνα ἐλοιντο ἄρκοντα μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας ἔσης, δύνασθαι τὸν ἓνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι και νυκτὸς και ἡμέρας· και εἴ τι δεοὶ λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν και κρύπτεσθαι, και εἰ τι αὐ δεοὶ φθάνειν, ἥττον ἂν ὑπερίζειν· ἔ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δοῦναι τῷ ἐνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἂν. I have transcribed this whole passage, that the reader may see how dreadfully D'Ablancourt has mangled it; these are his words:

“ Les soldats donc, pour mieux couvrir leur enterprise, et l'ex-
ecuter plus promptement, resolurent d'elire un general.”

¹² Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Harpocraton mentions two porticoes
dedicated at Athens to Jupiter under two different appel-
lations; the first to Jupiter ἐλευθέριος, because the people of
Athens, as Dydimus says, were freed from the Persians by
his assistance; the other to Jupiter Βασιλεύς. This passage
explains what our author mentions in the Third Book, where
he says the oracle of Delphos directed him to sacrifice to
the proper gods, by which, we find here, he means Jupiter
the king.

¹³ Αἰτὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιόν. It was an old super-
stition among the Greeks to look upon all appearances, and
particularly that of an eagle on the right hand, as an omen of
success. When Telemachus takes his leave of Menelaus
Homer makes an eagle appear on his right, with a goose in his
talons,

Ὡς ἄρα οἱ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις

Αἰετὸς, ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,

Ἡμερον ἐξ αὐλῆς·

This omen Helen, who was present, takes upon herself to in-
terpret, and says it signifies that Ulysses shall return and
punish the suitors, who, it seems, were represented by the
white goose. By the way, Homer makes Helen, rather than
Menelaus, interpret this omen, possibly to avoid making the
good man indirectly reproach his wife by this interpretation;
for Menelaus seems to have forgotten or forgiven all that was
past, and they then lived very well together. It may be
asked, why the Greeks looked upon the omens that appeared
on their right to be prosperous, and the Romans on those
that appeared on their left to be so? This question, though
at first sight it may appear frivolous, is of so great conse-
quence to the understanding many passages both in the Greek
and Roman authors, that I really think it very well deserves
to be discussed. The first thing to be considered is, that the
Greeks and Romans did not turn their faces towards the same
quarter of the heavens when they took their stand in their
augural ceremonies, the former turning theirs to the north,
and the latter theirs to the east. But this deserves some-
thing more than a bare assertion. Homer, who is always a

religious observer of the ceremonies of his country, makes Hector reprimand Polydamas for advising him to attend to the flight of birds, and says he cares not whether they fly to the right, that is, to the east, or to the left, that is, to the west,

— Τῶν ὅτι μετατρέπομ', ὃδ' ἀλεγίζω.

Εἰτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡέλιόν τε,

Εἰτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τόγχε, ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα.

It may not possibly be so easily allowed that the Romans, upon these occasions, turned their faces towards the east: I say this, because I remember to have seen the contrary asserted by a very learned man, I mean Dacier, in his Notes upon Horace; he there says, “*ceux qui prenoient les auspices, tournoient toujours le visage vers le midi;*” and a little after he adds, “*cela a toujours été observé de même par les Romains, sans qu'il y ait jamais eu aucun changement; et c'est une verité si constante, que l'on ne sçauroit expliquer ni concilier autrement tous les passages des anciens, où il est parlé de ces matieres.*” Errors in authors of little merit are of little consequence; but when ushered into the world under the sanction of a name deservedly famous for critical learning, they are either taken for truths, or at best pass uncontradicted. That this is an error will appear to a demonstration, from the two following passages of those two oracles of the Roman history, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The first, speaking of the inauguration of Numa Pompilius, says, “*Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato sedem cœpit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, Deos precatus, regionem ob oriente ad occasum determinavit; dextras ad meridiem partes, lævas ad septentrionem esse dixit.*” In this division, then, we find the south was on his right hand, and the north on his left; consequently his face was turned to the east. Dionysius of Halicarnassus not only confirms this, but gives several reasons why the augurs, upon these occasions, turned their faces to the east. The first is this, ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰωνοῖς μαντευομένων ἢ βλέψασα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν ἡλίου τε ἀναφορὰ γινώσκειται καὶ σελήνης, καὶ ἀστέρων πλανητῶν τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν· ἥ τε τῷ κόσμῳ περιφορὰ, δι' ἣν τότε μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται,

τοτὲ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, κείθεν ἀρχαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι κίνησιν.

This reason, according to the system of astronomy then in vogue, was a very plausible one, that is, because the heavenly bodies began their motion from the east. To this I shall add the reason given by the same author, why the Romans looked upon the lightning that appeared on the left hand, as a happy omen. I mention this, not only to confirm what has been said, but also to shew that a passage in Virgil, which, like many others, is looked upon as poetical, is, like them, merely historical. Dionysius says that Ascanius, the son of Æneas, being besieged by the Tuscans, under Mezentius, and upon the point of making a sally, prayed to Jupiter, and to the rest of the gods, to send him a happy omen; upon which, they say, the sky being clear, it lightened on his left. Now let us see what use Virgil has made of this tradition. Ascanius is besieged by the Rutulans and Tuscans, commanded by Turnus and Mezentius; he is insulted by Remulus, but, before he takes revenge of him, he prays to Jupiter to favour his *coup d'essai*: upon this a clap of thunder was heard on the left, where the sky was clear,

“ Audiit, & cœli genitor de parte serenâ

Intonuit lævum.”

This is told almost in the same words by the Greek historian, φασὶν αἰθρίας ἔσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράψαι τὸν ἑρανόν.

However, I desire I may not be understood as if I meant by this that Virgil took this passage from Dionysius. I am very sensible that the Greek historian speaks of the seven hundredth and forty-fifth year, as of the year then present, in the preface to his history; Claudius Nero, for the second time, and Calpurnius Piso, being consuls; and that Donatus tells us, in his life of Virgil, that, designing to return to Rome with Augustus, whom he met at Athens, as the latter was coming out of the east, he died at Brundisium, Cn. Plautius and Qu. Lucretius being consuls. Now Dion. Cassius says, that Augustus went into the east in the spring of the year in which M. Apuleius and P. Silius were consuls, which, in the *fasti consulares*, is the 733d of Rome, and that he returned to Rome the next year. All that I mean by what I have said, is, that both the poet and the historian took the passage from the history of Rome.

¹⁴ Ἄν δ' ἐμὲ ἔλθοι, ἐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον. D'Ablancourt has left out all this sentence.

¹⁵ Ἰασωνίαν ἀκτὴν. As the last note but one is very long, and the Dissertation upon the Argonautic Expedition has necessarily occasioned this to be so, in order to avoid breaking in upon the text, I have been obliged to place it at the end of this Book. (See the "Dissertation upon the Argonautic Expedition.")

¹⁶ Τῆ Θερμώδοντος. This river, after it has received many others, runs through a plain called Themiscyra, formerly inhabited by the Amazons, and then falls into the Euxine Sea.

¹⁷ Τῆ Ἀλυίος. This river, Strabo says, took its name from the beds of salt through which it runs, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλῶν ἃς καταρρεῖ. He adds, that its source is in the Greater Cappadocia; and, upon this occasion, Arrian blames Herodotus for saying it flows from the south, whereas it comes, as he says, from the east. This river formerly parted the Persian and Lydian empires. Tournefort says this country is so full of fossil salt, that it is to be found in the high roads, and ploughed lands.

¹⁸ Τῆ Παρθενίης. The Parthenius rises, according to Strabo, in Paphlagonia, and derives its name from the cheerful meadows through which it runs.

¹⁹ Εἰς Ἡράκλειαν. Heraclea was anciently a city of great consideration, and in alliance with Rome, till Mithridates made himself master of it, by corrupting Lamachus, one of their magistrates, which furnished Cotta, who served under Lucullus, with a pretence both of plundering it, and reducing it to ashes, for which he was deservedly censured at his return to Rome. I find Strabo makes Heraclea to have been a colony of the Milesians; but Xenophon seems to deserve most credit, since he is supported by Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, and many other authors of the best note. Heraclea was afterwards called by the modern Greeks, to whom it belonged, Penderachi, and by the Turks, in whose possession it now is, Eregri. There are many medals to be seen at this day, formerly struck by this city in honour of the Roman emperors, with a Hercules on the reverse, by which it appears that he was the patron of it; and, when Cotta took it, there

was a statue of Hercules in the market-place, with all his attributes of gold. But it must be observed, that this was the Grecian, not the Egyptian Hercules, from whom Diodorus Siculus observes the Greeks borrowed most of the great actions which they ascribed to their Hercules.

²⁰ Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν. Θαυμάζω, ὅτε πρὸς γενικὴν συντάσσομεν, τὸ καταγινώσκω σημαίνει πρὸς δὲ αἰτιατικὴν, τὸ ἐπαινῶ. Suidas.

²¹ Κυζικηνῆς. See note 35, page lxxxv. upon the Fifth Book.

²² Χρήματα. See note 54, page xiii. upon the First Book.

²³ Ἀρμοστής. Ἀρμοσταί, οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑποκοῦς πόλεις ἄρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι. Harpocration.

²⁴ Τῆς Θράκης. These are the Thracians, who, as Herodotus says, having settled in Asia, were called Bithynians. He adds, that they were driven out of Thrace by the Teucrians, and Mysians.

²⁵ Περιεβαλοντο. Περιβαλλόμενος προσπορισάμενος. Suidas. Phavorinus. So that I cannot think the word *collego*, made use of by both the Latin translators, so proper upon this occasion.

²⁶ Ἡμέρας μάλα μακρὰς πλεῖς. Xenophon has great reason to say that it is a long day's work for a galley to go from Byzantium to Heraclea, since Arrian, in his *Periplus*, makes it 1,670 stadia, 870 of which he reckons from Byzantium to the port of Calpe, which agrees very well with Xenophon's account.

²⁷ Κενοταφιον. In the same manner we find in Thucydides, that the Athenians, in the funeral of the first of their countrymen who were killed in the Peloponnesian war, besides a coffin for every tribe, carried also an empty one in honour to the memory of those whose bodies could not be found. Virgil has translated the Greek word by *tumulus inanis* in the Third Book, where he says Andromache had raised an empty monument to the manes of Hector,

“Manesque vocabat

Hectoreum ad tumulum; viridi quem cespite inanem,

Et geminas, causam lachrimis, sacraverat aras.”

²⁸ Τὴν ἑρὰν τῷ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι, κατὰ τὰς πρώτας φανέντας νεκρὰς, ἔθαπτον πάντας ὑπόσας ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. I very much suspect that ἑρὰν τῷ κέρατος ποιήσασθαι signifies “to ex-

tend one of the wings of an army upon a line;" but, as I do not find this sense of the expression supported by the authority of any author, or lexicon, though I have consulted many, I only offer it as a conjecture, and leave it to the consideration of the learned.

²⁹ *Επὶ νάπει μεγάλῳ.* I cannot approve of the word *saltus*, which both Leunclavius and Hutchinson have made use of, upon this occasion, for *νάπος*. I am very sensible that *νάπος* signifies *saltus*, but I do not look upon that to be the signification of the word in this place, because he tells us afterwards, that there was a bridge over this *νάπος*, which I am sure is, in no degree, applicable to *saltus*, particularly since he calls it *νάπος μέγα*, which addition puts it out of all doubt that *bocage épais*, in D'Ablancourt, is improper, since *bocage* is a diminutive. I have called it a valley, in which I am supported by Phavorinus, who explains the word in that sense; *νάπος, ἡ κοιλότης τῆ ὄρεος.*

³⁰ *Οτι ἐκ ἄξιον εἶη διαβαίνειν.* I agree with Hutchinson, that Stephanus and Muretus had no reason to find fault with this reading. I go further; he calls it *satis sana scriptura*, but I think the phrase perfectly elegant, and of the same turn with a passage in Demosthenes, quoted by Suidas — *διὰ γὰρ τῷτο μάλισα ἄξιόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν, ὅτ' ἔτ' ἐστὶν ὁ καταπλήσσω, ἔθ' ὁ καλᾶσων ἡμᾶς.* Upon which occasion Suidas explains the word in this manner; *ἄξιον οἱ ῥήτορες ἐπὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ καὶ δικαίῳ ἐκλαμβάνουσι.*

³¹ *Ελπίζετε.* In this sense Thucydides uses the word in the beginning of his history, where he says, "that he chose the Peloponnesian war for his subject, because he expected it would be of more importance than any before it," *ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.* Upon which the Greek Scholiast observes, *τὸ ἐλπίσας, ἔ μόνον ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ μέλλοντος ἐκβάσει λέγεται.* After the example of the Greeks, the Latins also gave this sense to the word *spero*, as we find in Virgil, where Dido, in the agony of her mind, tells her sister,

"Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
Et preferre, soror, potero."

³² *Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἔγωγε βελομένην ἂν εὐπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥς τε ἀποχωρεῖν.* This soldierly wish of Xenophon,

that the enemy might have hopes of safety in a retreat, while his own men had none but in victory, is thus disfigured by D'Ablancourt: "Je voudrois que nous fussions si bien remparez de toutes parts, qu'ils ne scussent pas par où nous attaquer, afin qu'ils se retirassent plutost.

³³ Πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος. Methinks this expression should have convinced the Latin translators that νάπος was not, upon this occasion, to be translated by *saltus*. However, they have, I find, still adhered to it. Hutchinson has said "quantus tandem saltus ipse Pontus est?" And Leunclavius, "quantus quæso saltus ipsum Pelagus Ponticum erit?" I expected D'Ablancourt would also have pursued his translation, and have said, "quel bocage sera le Pont Euxin?" But he has prudently avoided this absurdity, by leaving out the whole sentence.

³⁴ Καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον. See note 127, page xxxii. upon the First Book.

³⁵ Τὰ χρήματα. See note 54, page xiii. upon the First Book.

³⁶ Ἡρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. See the Introduction.

³⁷ Παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν. I have taken ῥήτρα here in the same sense that Plutarch says Lycurgus used it when he called his decrees by that name. I am sensible that the word also signifies an agreement, but as our author calls the same thing τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα a few lines before, I have chosen to give it that sense here also. Leunclavius has said, very properly, *contra edictum*, and Hutchinson, I think not so well, *contra pactum*. D'Ablancourt has, according to his custom where he meets with a difficulty, left it out.

³⁸ Ναὶ μὰ τὸ Σιώ. This was an oath much used by the Lacedæmonians: by τὸ Σιώ are meant the two brother-gods, Castor and Pollux, as we find by what the Greek Scholiast observes upon the following passage of Aristophanes, where Mercury says to Trygæus, in the Lacedæmonian style,

Ναὶ τὸ Σιώ, νῦν Ἀττικίων δώσει δίκην.

Upon this the Scholiast says, ἔγω τὰς Διοσκῶρες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σιὸς ἔλεγον· ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Θεὸς, Δήμητρα καὶ Περσεφόνην.

³⁹ Ξενίαν. See note 13, page v. upon the First Book.

⁴⁰ Διαθέμενοι τὸν σίτον. I have been obliged to differ from

all the translators, both Latin and French, in the sense I have given to the word διαθέμενοι; the former have rendered it *diviso, distributo frumento*; and D'Ablancourt, *les soldats le partagerent*, which signification I will not say absolutely the word will not bear, though I believe it very uncommon; but I really think the sense will not bear it here, for our author says they marched back, that they might carry something with them into the territories of their friends, which they might have done without marching back, had they before "divided" among themselves the booty they had taken. I have therefore said, "after they had sold the corn, and the rest of their booty," which is a very common acceptation of the word διατίθεσθαι, and the very sense in which our author uses it in his *Cyropædia*, where he makes Cyrus tell his officers, and those of the Hyrcanians, that they should divide the money in such a proportion among the horse and foot, ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες διαδίδοτε, ἵππεϊ μὲν, τὸ διπλῆν, πεζῷ δὲ, τὸ ἀπλοῦν, and, a little after, that they should publish an order for the suttlers and merchants to sell their commodities, and when they had "sold" them, to bring others, πωλεῖν δὲ τὰς καπήλας καὶ ἐμπορος ὃ τι ἔχει ἕκαστος πράσιμον· καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους, ἄλλα ἄγειν. Upon this occasion I desire the reader will take notice, first, that διαδίδοτε, not διατίθεσθε, is the word made use of there, by our author, for *dividite, distribuite*; secondly, that he there uses διαθέμενοι in the same sense I have translated it upon this occasion; in which sense also both Leunclavius and Hutchinson have rendered the word, in translating that passage of the *Cyropædia*.

⁴¹ Εἰς Χρυσόπολιν. Chrysopolis was no more than a village in Strabo's time, that is, in the time of Augustus, καὶ νῶμῃ Χρυσόπολις: it is now called Scutari, and, though separated from Constantinople by the Bosphorus, is looked upon by the Turks as one of the suburbs of their capital. Polybius informs us that the Athenians, being in possession of Chrysopolis, endeavoured, by the advice of Alcibiades, to oblige those who sailed through the Bosphorus into the Euxine Sea, to pay toll. This was, many ages after, put in practice with greater effect by Mahomet the Second, by means of a castle which he built upon a cape on the side of Europe, where the temple of Mercury, called by Polybius Εἰσμαῖον, formerly

stood; opposite to this castle Mourat the Second had, before, built a castle on the Asiatic side, called by the modern Greeks Neocastron. This castle Mahomet the Second, upon his succeeding Mourat, fortified considerably. The streight between those two castles, Polybius says, is the narrowest of the whole Bosphorus, it being but about five stadia (near half an English mile) over. The same author adds, that this was the pass over which Darius Hystaspes caused Mandrocles of Samos, as he is called by Herodotus, an eminent architect, to lay a bridge, over which he passed his army, consisting of seven hundred thousand men, to make war upon the Scythians.

BOOK VII.

¹ Εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον. The Thracian Chersonesus was separated from the rest of Thrace by a wall, reaching from the Propontis, to the bay called Sinus Melas, in the Ægean Sea. This wall was built by Dercyllidas, the Lacedæmonian general, the second year of the 95th Olympiad, that is, the year after Xenophon brought back the remains of the soldiers, who had served under Cyrus. This wall was begun in the spring, and ended before the autumn of the same year; it reached from sea to sea, quite across the isthmus, and was in length thirty-seven stadia, that is, about three English miles and three quarters. This Chersonesus contained in it eleven towns, many sea-ports, and a large extent of arable land, woods, and rich pastures. It afterwards belonged to Agrippa, son-in-law to Augustus, and one of the greatest men of that or of any other age. At his death it came to Augustus. It is great pity that part of the Seventh Book of Strabo is lost, where he treats of this Chersonesus.

² Εκοπτον τὰς πύλας. Lucian for ever uses this word in the sense I have given it here.

³ Παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν. Χηλαί· οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πρὸς θάλασσαν τείχεος προβεβλημένοι λίθοι, διὰ τὴν τῶν κυμάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιτο· παρὰ τὸ εἰκέναι χηλῇ βοός. Suidas.

⁴ Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. See the Introduction.

⁵ Εν τοῖς νεωρίοις. Νεώρια λέγεται ὁ τόπος ἅπας, εἰς ὃν ἀνέλκονται αἱ τριήρεις, καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆ καθέλκονται. Harpocraton. For which he cites Lycurgus and Andocides.

⁶ Χιλίων Ταλάντων. See note 12, page iv. upon the First Book.

⁷ Τισσαφέρνης. See note 7, page iii, upon the First Book.

⁸ Τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης. Besides the Ægyptian Delta, other places were, from their triangular figure, called by that name by the ancients, for Strabo mentions an island, called Pattalene, lying at the mouth of the Indus, which, he says, Onesicritus calls by the name of Delta.

⁹ Ὡς ἐπὶ Δάσμευσιν. Δάσμευσις, Διάρεσις. Hesychius.

¹⁰ Αποπλέντι δὲ Αναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Αρισταρχὸς ἐν Κυζίκῳ. I was surprised to find Hutchinson translate this passage, "At Anaxibio è Byzantio solventi obviam venit apud Cyzicum Aristarchus," and Leunclavius, "quum autem Byzantio solveret, obviam ei venit apud Cyzicum Aristarchus." How could Aristarchus meet Anaxibius at Cyzicus, as the latter was weighing anchor from Byzantium? They have translated it as if our author had said ἀναγομένῳ δὲ Αναξιβίῳ. It is very plain the sense is, that Aristarchus, who was sent to succeed Cleander, met Anaxibius at Cyzicus, which every body knows is a city upon the Propontis, not far from the Hellespont, through which Anaxibius was to sail in his return home. It is with pleasure I do justice to D'Ablancourt upon this occasion; he has said, very properly, "Comme il fut parti de Byzance, & arrivé à Cyzique, il rencontra Aristarque."

¹¹ Παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον. Parium was a town upon the Propontis, situated between Cyzicus and the Hellespont; it was built, according to Strabo, by the inhabitants of the island of Paros: the same author adds, that in Parium there was an altar, the sides of which were 600 feet in length.

¹² Εἰς Πέρινθον. Perinthus was a city of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; it was otherwise called Heraclæa. Harduin says it is now called Pantiro.

¹³ Σεύθης. See note 2, page lxxxix. upon the Sixth Book.

¹⁴ Εν τύρσει. Τύρσις, Πύργος. Hesychius.

¹⁵ Τήρης ὁ τέτατος πρόγονος. This Teres was the father of

Sitalces, who was uncle to Seuthes; see note 2, page lxxxix. upon the Sixth Book.

¹⁶ *Εν Σηλυμβρία.* Selymbria was a town of Thrace, upon the Propontis, near Perinthus. Strabo says that *βρία*, in the Thracian language, signifies a town. Leunclavius says it is now called, both by the Turks and Greeks, Silyurian.

¹⁷ *Καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι.* Hutchinson, upon this occasion, quotes a passage out of the Second Book of Thucydides, where that author says that Perdiccas gave his sister Stratonice in marriage to Seuthes. I own I do not understand how Seuthes could be said to be related to the Athenians by marrying a daughter of a king of Macedon. We find, in another part of the Second Book of Thucydides, that the Athenians entered into an alliance with Sitalces, and made his son, Sadocus, a citizen of Athens; but this, I own, does not seem to support what Seuthes says of their relation: it is certain that Teres, the father to Sitalces, was not the person who married Procne, the daughter of Pandion, the son of Erechtheus, king of Athens, since Thucydides expressly tells us that the name of the latter was Tereus, and that they were not of the same part of Thrace; so that Seuthes could not ground his relation to the Athenians upon the marriage of Tereus with Procne.

¹⁸ *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δαίλης.* See note 120, page xxxi. upon the First Book.

¹⁹ *Κυζικηνὸν.* See note 34, page x. upon the First Book.

²⁰ *Ἐπιψηφίζεσθω ταῦτα.* I have followed the manuscript quoted by Hutchinson, rather than his conjecture, though I think *ἐπιψηφίζεσθε*, in him, is much better than *ἐπιψηφίζετε* in Leunclavius; but *ἐπιψηφίζεσθω* seems to me to answer better to *λεγέτω*, that immediately precedes it.

²¹ *Τάπιδας Βαρβαρικάς.* Persian carpets have always been famous for their beauty; for which reason, and because these carpets were part of the spoils taken by the Greeks from the Persians, I have ventured to call them Persian carpets, rather than Barbaric, after Milton,

“ Where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Show’rs on her kings barbaric pearl, and gold.”

²² *Τοιαῦτα προυμνάτο. Προμνώμενοι, προμνησεύόμενοι.* Hesychius. D’Ablancourt has left it out.

²³ Μαλιστα δὲ αἱ τραπέζαι κατὰ τὰς ξενίας αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο. Leunclavius and Hutchinson have very properly, I think, rendered *τραπέζαι*, in this place, “fercula;” to support which, they quote a passage out of Julius Pollux, where he says that *τραπέζαι* were also called “the victuals,” that were placed upon the tables. There is a passage in Athenæus, by which it appears the word was understood in that sense by every body — *παντῶν τραπέζας καλόντων τὰς παραθεσεις ταύτας*. From hence I imagine the Latins took their “*secunda mensa, et alteræ mensæ*,” for their second course.

²⁴ Τριχολνίκον ἄρτον. See note 86, page xxii. upon the First Book.

²⁵ Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸν χωρεῖ ὁ πότος. Ποτὸς μὲν τὸ πινομενον, πότος δὲ τὸ συμποσιον. Suidas.

²⁶ Ἀξίαν δεκα μνῶν. See note 12, page iv. upon the First Book.

²⁷ Ὑποπεπωκώς. Ἀντὶ τῆ μεθύσκεσθαι. Suidas.

²⁸ Προσεμενοι. Προσίσταται, ἀρεσκέται, προσδεχεται, ἡδεως λαμβανει. Hesychius.

²⁹ Συγκατεσκεδάσε. Suidas, upon the word *κατασκεδαζειν*, says, it was a custom among the Thracians, when they had drunk as much wine as they could, to pour the rest upon the clothes of the company, for which he quotes Plato; this, he says, they called *κατασκεδαζειν*. It was necessary just to take notice of this ridiculous custom, in order to explain this passage of Xenophon.

³⁰ Οἶον μαγαδι. This musical instrument is said to have been a kind of flute. Strabo reckons it among those, whose names were taken from the Barbarians. It was probably an instrument of war.

³¹ Τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φορεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι. After Xerxes had passed the Hellespont with his prodigious army, he reviewed them in the plain of Doriscus; among his troops were Thracians, who, according to Herodotus, wore foxes' skins upon their heads, and whose dress he describes not unlike that of the Thracians with whom Xenophon was acquainted. Whether these Thracians wore foxes' skins upon their heads to preserve them from the cold, as our author seems to think, or whether they wore them by way of armour, and as a distinction in war, I shall not determine; but we

find that many nations, inhabiting the warmest climates, wore the skins of several beasts upon their heads, when they went to war; upon those occasions, the upper jaw, or forehead of the animal, was fixed to the top of their heads, I suppose to give them a fierce look. Herodotus tells us, that in the same army, the Indians, whom he calls the Asiatic Ethiopians, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, wore, upon their heads, the skins of horses' heads, with the mane flowing, and the ears erect. I cannot help mentioning, upon this occasion, a passage of Diodorus Siculus, because it shews the origin of a very great folly committed by a very wise people—I mean, the worship of Anubis by the Egyptians: he tells us, that Anubis and Macedon, two sons of Osiris, attended him in his expedition to the Indies, and that their armour was taken from animals that bore some resemblance to their fortitude, Anubis wearing the skin of a dog, and Macedon that of a wolf; for which reason, he says, these animals were worshipped by the Egyptians. The Roman Signiferi, upon Trajan's pillar, have most of them their heads and shoulders covered with the skins of lions, something like Aventinus in Virgil,

“ Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum setâ cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti———”

³² Βισάνθην, και Γάνον, και Νεόν Τείχος. Towns of Thrace near the sea: if the reader pleases to turn to the first note upon this Book, he will find that the last has nothing to do with the wall built by Dercyllidas, for that was not built till the year after Xenophon engaged the Greeks in the service of Seuthes.

³³ Περὶ τῷ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι. D'Ablancourt understands this concerning his going over into Asia; but I have chosen rather to make it relate to the expedition of Seuthes and the Greeks against those Thracians who inhabited above Byzantium, in which I am supported by Leunclavius and Hutchinson.

³⁴ Σαλμυδησσόν. Salmydessus was a sea-port lying upon the Euxine Sea; it is mentioned by Arrian in his Periplus: the river, the town, and the bay, had all the same name.

³⁵ Δαρεικός. See note 12, page iv. upon the First Book.

³⁶ Οὐδέν πεπάρμεθα. Πεπάρσθαι, κεκτηῖσθαι. Hesychius. Both

which, in my opinion, signify much oftener “to acquire” than “to possess.” I look upon the word to have the same sense also in that very moral and sensible epigram of Solon, the Athenian legislator, as quoted by Plutarch, in his Life of him,

Χρήματα δ' ἰμέριω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
Οὐκ ἐθέλω, πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.

But as πεπᾶσθαι signifies also “to possess,” I will not blame Hutchinson for translating it, upon this occasion, *nihil possidemus*, though I have translated it otherwise myself; a little farther it signifies, beyond all doubt, “to possess.”

³⁷ Πράξις. Πραδοσία. Suidas.

³⁸ Πράτλητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Πράττεσθαι, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι. Phavorinus.

³⁹ Τριήρεις ἐφορμᾶσαι. Εφορμεῖν. Ενεδρεύειν ἐν πλοίοις. Suidas.

⁴⁰ Τὰ γινόμενα. I cannot agree with Hutchinson that this word is taken by Thucydides, in the passage quoted by him, nearly in the same sense our author takes it here. In the passage quoted by him out of Thucydides, that author says the Athenian tyrants, Hippias and Hipparchus, adorned the city, carried on the wars, and performed the sacrifices, by exacting only the twentieth part of the product of the country from the Athenians, Αθηναίους εἰκοσὴν μόνον πρᾶσσομενοι τῶν γιγνομένων, which signification of the word is put out of all dispute by what Meursius says of the tax of the tenth part of “the product of the country” imposed upon the Athenians by Pisistratus, which he calls δεκάτην τῶν ἐν τῇ χωρᾷ γινομένων. In the passage, therefore, of Thucydides, τὰ γινόμενα signifies “the product of the country;” but here it signifies, as Hutchinson himself, and all the other translators, have rendered it, “the money raised by the sale of the booty.”

⁴¹ Τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ. See note 12, page xciii. upon the Sixth Book.

⁴² Οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δέξ. Οὐχ ὅπως signifies here, “not only not,” in the same manner as Dion Cassius uses it, where he says that Gabinius, being asked by Clodius what he thought of the law he had brought in against Cicero, “not only did not commend Tully, but accused the Roman knights to the senate.” Οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπῆνεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς βελῆς προσκατηγόρησεν. I make no doubt but this Grecism induced

the Latins to give the same force to “non modo;” the following passage of Tully is a remarkable instance of it: “Regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persæ quidem cuiquam tolerabile.”

⁴³ Ἀλλες τε κρείττονας τέτων μισθῆσθαι. Hutchinson has great reason to find fault with Leunclavius and Amasæus for translating κρείττονας here, “maiores copiæ, major exercitus.” It most certainly signifies, as he has rendered it, “armis potentiores.” D’Ablancourt’s translation is still more loose than that of the two first; he has said, “faire de nouvelles levées pour nous faire tête.” I shall add, to what Hutchinson has said, a passage in Thucydides, where he not only uses κρείττονας in the same sense, but explains it himself by δυνατώτεροι: he is giving an account of the state of Greece before the Trojan war, and says, ἐφιεμένοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν, οἷτε ἦσθε ὑπεμένον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δελείαν, οἷτε δυνατώτεροι, περισσίας ἔχοντες, προσεποιῶντο ὑπηκόας τὰς ἐλάσσας πόλεις.

⁴⁴ Ἐφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σε. I have rendered ῥα here “presents,” not “bribes,” which would have been inconsistent with what he says afterwards, though I doubt not but every English reader will have the same satisfaction I have in observing that neither δῶρον in Greek, *donum* in Latin, or *un present* in French, have the force of our word *bribe*. A foreigner, who does not know us, may say that our manners have coined the word; but we, who know ourselves, know how much we are above such an imputation.

⁴⁵ Τάλαντον. See note 12, page iv. upon the First Book.

⁴⁶ Διατιθέμενοι. Διάδοτε. See note 40, page xcix. upon the Sixth Book.

⁴⁷ Οὐ γάρπω ψῆφος ἔπῃκτο Αθήνησι περὶ τῆς φυγῆς. See the author’s life at the beginning of this translation.

⁴⁸ Επιτήδαιοι. Επιτήδειος. σίλος. ἔυνες. ἀρμόδιος. Suidas. I have chosen the first of the three with D’Ablancourt. The two Latin translators have preferred the last.

⁴⁹ Εἰς Λάμψακον. Lampsacus is a sea-port town in Asia, upon the Hellespont, over against Æs Potamos: that streight is there about fifteen stadia over, that is, about an English mile and a half. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian general, took Lampsacus just before he defeated the Athenians at the last-mentioned place. See the Introduction.

⁵⁰ Κλεαγόρῃ υἱὸς τῶ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. Doctor Potter, the late worthy Primate of England, in his *Archæologia Græca*, that treasure of Greek learning, says the Lyceum was situated upon the banks of the Ilissus, and received its name from Apollo Λυκοκτόνος or Λύκιος, to whom it was dedicated. The Greek Scholiast upon Aristophanes, and Suidas, says it was a place designed for military exercises. I am sorry I cannot get any light concerning the painter and picture mentioned by Xenophon; but nothing is to be found in Pliny or Pausanias concerning either, though several considerable painters, who flourished before this time, are mentioned by the former; as Polygnotus, and Micon, who painted a portico at Athens called the Pœcile; and particularly Panæus, brother to Phidias the famous statuary, who painted the battle of Marathon, where the generals, both Greeks and Persians, were represented as big as the life, which I take to be the signification of *iconici duces*, the words made use of by Pliny upon that occasion, since Athenæus calls statues as big as the life εἰκονικὰ ἀγάλματα, and Plato says εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον in the same sense.

⁵¹ Ο Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος. There is a passage in Thucydides, where, speaking of Cylon's seizing the citadel of Athens, he mentions the Athenian festival celebrated without the walls of the city in honour of the Meilichian Jupiter, which he calls Διάσια, *Diasia*, at which, he says, all the people attended, and sacrificed, not victims, but cakes made in the shape of animals, "according to the custom of the country," οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλ' θύματα ἐπιχώρια; for so the Greek Scholiast explains the word θύματα. The reason of my being so particular is, that Xenophon says he offered sacrifice to the same Jupiter, and burned hogs whole to him, "according to the custom of his country," *Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλοκάντει χοίρας τῷ πατρὶ νόμῳ*. Are we then to imagine, that either Thucydides, or Xenophon were uninformed of the custom of their country upon so great a solemnity? I should almost be tempted to think the hogs, Xenophon says he burned whole, were also cakes made in the shape of hogs. There is a passage in Herodotus, that, in some degree, favours this conjecture: he says, the Egyptians, notwithstanding their known aversion to hogs, sacrificed them one day in the year to the Moon and

Bacchus, when they eat their flesh, which they tasted upon no other day, and that the poorer sort made cakes resembling hogs, and, roasting them, offered them in sacrifice: οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίῃ, σαιτίνας πλάσαντες ὕς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες, τὰυτας θύεσι. But what affinity is there between the religious customs of the Egyptians and the Athenians? So great an affinity, that we find in Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptians pretended that the Athenians were one of their colonies, and had received the Eleusinian mysteries from them, which they said Erichtheus, an Egyptian, and afterwards king of Athens, carried from Egypt, and instituted among the Athenians, in honour of Ceres. I cannot say that I ever met with an account, in any Greek author, of cakes offered by the Greeks in the resemblance of hogs; but, besides the authority of the Greek Scholiast upon the passage already mentioned in Thucydides, where he explains θύματα, τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῶων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα, “cakes made in the shape of animals” generally; I say, besides that passage, we find in Julius Pollux that the Greeks offered cakes to all the gods, which cakes had their names from their different shapes, as an ox, which was a cake with horns, and was offered to Apollo, and Diana, and Hecate, and the Moon — πέλανοι δὲ κοινοὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς, κέκληνται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σχήματος, ὥσπερ ὁ Βῆς· πέμμα γὰρ ἔστι, κέρατα ἔχον πεπηγμένα προσφερόμενον Ἀπόλλωνι, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ Ἑκάτῃ, καὶ Σελήνῃ. I shall conclude this note with observing, that Apollo, when taken for the Sun, was the same, among the Egyptians, and afterwards among the Greeks, with Dionysius, or Bacchus, as Diodorus Siculus proves from this verse of Eumolpus—

Ἀσροφαῇ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρῶπόν,

And from another in Orpheus. Now, every body knows that these were the same with Osiris; as Diana, Hecate, and the Moon, were the same divinity with Isis; so that the custom mentioned by Julius Pollux, of offering cakes in the shape of animals, to have been in practice among the Greeks, seems to be derived from that mentioned by Herodotus to have been in use among the Egyptians; especially since we find they were offered to the same divinities. D'Ablancourt seems to have forgot that Jupiter was worshipped at Athens under the title of Meilichius; for he takes the name to be allegorical to the

mildness of Xenophon's character, who did not make his fortune, "pour avoir trop de pudeur," as he says, "because he was too bashful."

⁵² Οφρύνιον. A town of Dardania, near which stood the grove of Hector upon a conspicuous place.

⁵³ Διὰ τῆς Τροίας, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδην, εἰς Ἀντάνδρον ἀφικνῶνται. The misfortunes of Troy, or rather the fine relations of them, have rendered all these parts famous, so that there is no necessity of saying any thing, either of Troas or Mount Ida. Antandrus was the sea-port where Æneas built his fleet to preserve the remains of his country. But one thing must not be forgot; above Antandrus was a mountain, called Alexandria, from Paris, where they say he passed judgment upon the three contending goddesses. The town that gave name to the plain of Thebe was called by the same name, and belonged to Eëtion, the father of Andromache,

Ωχομεθ' εἰς θήβην ἱερὴν πόλιν Ηετίωνος.

In the taking of this town, Chryseis was taken prisoner, and given to Agamemnon; the restoring of whom, with the difficulties that attended it, and the consequences that flowed from it, are the subject of the Iliad.

⁵⁴ Δι' Ἀτραμυτίης καὶ Κερτονίης παρ' Ἀταρνέα εἰς Καίην πεδῖον ἔλθόντες, Πέργαμον καλαλαμζάνεσι τῆς Μυσίας. The first of these is a sea-port that gives its name to the bay; the other two are towns in or near the road from the first to the plain that is watered by the river Caïcus. Pergamus was the residence of the Attalic kings, the last of whom left it, with his kingdom, by will, to the Roman people.

⁵⁵ Βεπόρω ὀβελίσκω. Βεπόρος ὀβελός, μέγας ὀβελίσκος. Phavorinus. In this sense Euripides takes it in his Cyclops, where Ulysses tells him,

Οὐκ ἄμφι βεπόροισι πηχθέντας μέλη

Οβελοῖσι, νηδὺν καὶ γνάθον πλῆσαι σέθεν.

⁵⁶ Προκλῆς — ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτε. See note 1, page xxxix. upon the Second Book.

⁵⁷ Παρθένιον—Απολλώνια—Ελισάρνε—Τευθρανία. These four towns are also placed by Pliny in Mysia.

⁵⁸ Τὰ πρότερα ἱερά. I imagine, with Hutchinson, that Xenophon means the sacrifice he says he offered in the presence

of Agasias of Elis, to distinguish it from that which he offered the day after their unsuccessful expedition.

⁵⁹ Ως ἐξάιρετα λαμβάνειν. It was an early custom among the ancients to select the most valuable part of the booty for their generals, which makes the following reproach from Thersites to Agamemnon very impertinent, and consequently very agreeable to the character of the man who makes it.

Ατρείδῃ, τέο δ' αὖτ' ἐπιμέμφει, ἥδ' ἐχάτίζεις ;
 Πλεῖαί τοι χαλκῇ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
 Εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξάιρετοι, ὥς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
 Πρωτίσῳ δίδομεν, εὖτ' ἂν πολίεθρον ἔλωμεν.

Where ἐξάιρετοι is thus very properly explained by the Greek Scholiast, αἱ κατὰ τιμὴν διδόμεναι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν. Virgil has preserved this custom, and translated ἐξαιρεῖν, in the Ninth Book, where he makes Ascanius promise Nisus the war-horse, the shield, and helmet of Turnus, at his return from the enterprise he and Euryalus had undertaken.

“ Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
 Aureus? ipsum illum, clypeum cristasque rubentes
 Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua præmia Nise.”

In the Eighth Book, Virgil calls the horse, which was reserved for Æneas's own riding, when he went to the Tuscans to implore their assistance, *exsortem*, which is a literal translation of ἐξάιρετος.

⁶⁰ Παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, στάδια τρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια, διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε. I have followed Hutchinson's correction, who, very properly, I think, instead of διακόσια, reads ἑξακόσια, and takes away the word πέντε. Concerning these measures of length, see note 22, page vii. upon the First Book. To which I shall only add, that these parasangas, or stadia, being reduced to English miles, amount to no more than 3,305 miles and a half, and not to 4,331, as Hutchinson has computed it, who, I find, reckons eight stadia to an English mile: eight stadia indeed make a μίλιον, or Greek mile, but do not, by a great deal, amount to an English mile, since an English mile, according to Arbuthnot, contains 1,056 geometrical paces, and a Greek mile only 806; so that an English mile is to a Greek mile as 1,056 to 806. 4,331 Greek miles being therefore contained in 34,650 stadia, if we say 1056 : 806 :: 4331 : the proportional number will be 3,305,

with a fraction of .668, so that 3,305 and one-half will be, to a trifle, the number of English miles contained in the 34,650 stadia mentioned by Xenophon to have been the amount both of the Expedition and Retreat.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISSERTATION.

¹ He places Byzantium in $43^{\circ} 5'$; Bithyniæ Promontorium, $43^{\circ} 20'$; Heraclea Ponti, $43^{\circ} 10'$; Parthenii Ostia, $43^{\circ} 10'$; Sinope, 44° ; Halys Ostia, $43^{\circ} 10'$; Amisus, $43^{\circ} 6'$; and Trapezus, $43^{\circ} 5'$. So that Mr. Greaves (Philosoph. Transactions, No. 178) had no occasion to have recourse to Ptolemy's Almagest. Magn. to prove there is no error crept into the text, with regard to the latitude of Byzantium, since all these places correspond with it; and particularly Chalcedon, which stood over against it, he puts exactly in the same latitude, viz. $43^{\circ} 5'$.

² I say in $36^{\circ} 30'$, though I might have said less; for he places the middle of Rhodes in 35° ; Xanthi Fluv. Ostia in $36^{\circ} 0'$; Phaselis, $36^{\circ} 25'$; and Issus, $36^{\circ} 25'$.

³ In Clio, cap. lxxii.

⁴ Book II. in the beginning.

⁵ Book II. page 106, and in other places.

⁶ There might another reason be assigned for Ptolemy's placing Byzantium so far to the northward, and that is, his making a degree of the great circle to consist of but 500 stadia, whereas, in reality, it contains very near 605: so that the greater the distance, the more in proportion are the number of degrees increased; six of Ptolemy's not being quite equal to five of the great circle. And thus we find that the distance between Alexandria in Egypt, the place of Ptolemy's residence, and Byzantium, is, in reality, about ten degrees, the former being in near thirty-one, the latter in forty-one; whereas Ptolemy, increasing one degree in five, has placed Byzantium in forty-three. However, as Hipparchus in Strabo does affirm, that Byzantium is by observation exactly in the same latitude with Massalia, *Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν*

εἶναι λόγον τῆ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλία: and as Ptolemy makes them exactly the same, viz. $\mu\gamma. 15. 43, 5$, I think it is most probable he was misled by those authorities. We may from this be convinced how little stress ought to be laid upon the observations of the ancients, and how far their authority is to be relied on, with regard to the motion of the poles of the earth. Mr. Cassini, in the Mem. of the Acad. Royal, has treated this subject in a very curious and ample manner; after which I am surprised how M. Voltaire (*Philosophie de Neuton*, cap. xxiii.) could espouse this opinion of the poles shifting after the rate of one minute in 100 years, and affirm that the Ægyptian astronomers had made regular observations of the heavens for two whole revolutions of the poles, which makes the Ægyptians a very ancient nation indeed; for two revolutions amount to no less than 4,320,000 years. This he gathers from Herodotus, who says that the Ægyptian annals mention the sun's rising twice in the west. A consequence this, which nothing but an exalted genius could have drawn! But we must remember this gentleman is a poet as well as a philosopher.

7 He says, "It is allowed by most people, that the line which is drawn from the Streights of Gibraltar through the Fare of Messina, Athens, and Rhodes, makes all these places lie under the same parallel. It is also allowed that this line (from the Streights to the Fare) passes somewhere very near the middle of the sea. Now we are assured by navigators, that the greatest distance from France (from the Gulf of Lyons) to Africa, is no more than 5,000 stadia; and, consequently, that this is the breadth of the Mediterranean in the broadest place. So that from the aforesaid line to the farther corner of the Gulf of Lyons must be 2,500 stadia, and to Massalia somewhat less, because it stands more southward than the bite of the Bay. But from Rhodes to Byzantium is 4,900 stadia; so that the parallel of Byzantium must be a great deal more northward (*πολὺ ἀρκτικώτερος*) than that of Massalia." Page 115. The fallacy of this argument is quickly perceived, by only casting an eye upon any common map, where we shall find that the difference of latitude, between Rhodes and Constantinople, is not four degrees, that is, not

2,500 stadia; and that the parallel of the Straights runs into the coast of Africa.

⁸ Some of these Mr. Spelman has followed in note 31, Book IV. page lxxvii. where he says that Armenia lies between the 40th and 43d degrees of latitude; whereas Trebisonde lies in $41^{\circ} 4'$, so that Armenia cannot reach at most to above forty and a half.

⁹ I shall speak more particularly of this march, when I come to take notice of M. Delisle's computations.

¹⁰ I would recommend the following passage in Diodorus Siculus to the consideration of the next editor of that author, *Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ἐπειδὴ διήλθε τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ παραγενήθη πρὸς πόλιν Ἰσσον, ἐπὶ θαλάττης μὲν κειμένην, ἐσχάτην δ' οὔσαν τῆς Κιλικίας, καταπλεῦσας εἰς αὐτήν.* Booth translates it, "Having marched almost through all Cilicia, he took shipping, and arrived at last by sea at Issus, the utmost city of that country, near the sea-side." Which is indeed a verbal translation of the Latin version; but how to reconcile it with the original, or with Xenophon's account of this march, I confess I cannot tell.

¹¹ Alexandria penes Issum long. $69^{\circ} 10'$, lat. $36^{\circ} 10'$; Myriandrus $69^{\circ} 10'$, lat. $35^{\circ} 50'$. Mr. Delisle has placed this town fifteen minutes to the north of Alexandrette.

¹² Because the inhabitants of that country worshipped them as gods. See Book I. page 18.

¹³ Travels published by J. Ray, Part I. c. viii.

¹⁴ Thus we find Xenophon applies this measure of 100 feet to some of the rivers of Cilicia, which other authors call no more than brooks falling from Mount Taurus cross a small plain into the sea.

¹⁵ In this manner Rauwolf says the Euphrates is half a league broad at Babylon; whereas Sir Thomas Herbert says it is only almost double the breadth of the Thames at London. At Bir, Rauwolf says, it is a mile broad; Maundrel, that it is as broad as the Thames at London.

¹⁶ Tavernier mentions two rivers between Alexandretta and Aleppo; over the first he says is "a bridge very long and strongly built," Book II. cap. i. But in this he is mistaken, the bridge and causeway being laid over the bog above mentioned: the other he calls Afrora, and says "that upon rains it

is not fordable." This is the Ephrin, the fording of which does frequently so much damage to the bales of goods, that our Turkey merchants, some years ago, proposed to build a bridge over it at their own expense; but the Turk would not consent, and so the design was dropped.

¹⁷ I shall speak of this more particularly towards the end of this Dissertation.

¹⁸ Book XVI. page 741. "Α κομισθέντα εἰς Θάψακον, σαδίοις ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κατακομισθῆναι μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος. It is certain that Strabo, in composing such a work as his Geography is, must consult a very great variety of authors; and though he himself always makes use of the stadium in computing of distances, yet in transcribing other writings, he might sometimes be forced to adopt other terms: for instance, in this place he might meet with σαδμοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ, and put it down so, as not being able to determine the exact quantity; which some ignorant scribe, seeing σαδίοις in all other places made use of, might change, and think he had done his author great service.

¹⁹ What Pliny says, Book V. cap. xxvi. *Scinditur Euphrates d Zeugmate octoginta tribus millibus passuum; & parte læva in Mesopotamiam, vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa eam præfluenti infusus Tigri*, is sufficient to persuade us, that either there is some error in the text, or that Zeugma was a lax term applied to several places; for Zeugma, properly so called, stood somewhere near the place where Bir now stands, from whence, to the end of the mountains of Mesopotamia, is near 300 miles, and from thence to the plain country of Babylonia, where this division most assuredly was, must be above 400 miles; so that, instead of 80, perhaps it should be 800.

²⁰ *De diversis nimirum expeditionibus intelligendæ videntur discrepantes auctorum narrationes.* Dissert. page 8.

²¹ The desert begins two or three leagues from Aleppo. Tavernier, Book II. cap. iii.

²² He says, that "on the 9th of October they came to a point called Eusy, which took them up more than half a day to pass." So that if they were above half a day in reaching the point, it is probable that the bent of the river was more than double, and must take them more than a day to get

round, which could not be an inconsiderable distance, as the stream was in their favour.

²³ Book II. page 82, &c.

²⁴ This river Rauwolf calls Chabu (not observing the *r* in the termination), and says there is a castle named Sere at the mouth of it, P. II. cap. v. There was a castle in this place in the days of Julian the Apostate, which Zosimus calls Circesium, Book III.

²⁵ Xenophon says no less than 3,060 stadia; but this I shall speak more particularly to by and by.

²⁶ See Mr. Spelman's note 116, Book I. page xxx.

²⁷ Chap. xxiv. v. 25. Pliny also says, that the Tigris overflows in such a manner, as to run into a river which falls into the Euphrates, B. VI. cap. xxvii. Now if it does this in the upper parts, where its current is so very swift as to merit the appellation of Arrow, what can we expect in the lower country, where the land is flat, and its stream more gentle?

²⁸ *Increscit (nempe Euphrates) statis diebus, Mesopotamiam inundans, sole obtinente vicesimam partem Cancræ: minui incipit in Virgine, Leone transgresso. In totum vero remeat in vicesima nona parte Virginis* B. V. 26.

²⁹ Book XVI. p. 738.

³⁰ Dean Prideaux, Connect. Part I. Book II. adheres to this sense of Strabo, though he quotes Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, Book II. "that the bridge of Babylon was five stadia long." Now, instead of correcting Strabo by such an authority, he gives it this unnatural turn, viz. "that the bridge must be a great deal longer than the river was broad:" though he himself has but just before told us, that the person who built this bridge had banked up the river on each side with brick, in such a manner as the river could never overflow; so that to make the bridge five times as long as the distance between these two banks, must be a needless, not to say a ridiculous piece of work.

³¹ It must here be observed, that when travellers mention the breadth of rivers, we must not take what they say to be strictly true: they have no instruments with them to determine distances; and had they instruments, the generality would not know how to make use of them. What Rauwolf

says in this place, must be understood as spoken very much at large, half a league being thirteen stadia. Diodorus Siculus, we have seen, makes the bridge over it five stadia. Now, as a bridge is by much more easily measured than a river, and as Xenophon makes it four stadia at Thapsacus, we may suppose that five stadia, a little more than half an English mile, was the breadth of the Euphrates at Babylon.

³² For instance he tells us, that "Ninus enlarged Nineveh the Great upon Tigris, formerly called Nysib and Rauhaboth, and since Mosul, being indeed rather the ruins of Seleucia." Page 226. He also informs us, from Xenophon, "that Cyrus had 125 millions of pounds when he marched against his brother Artaxerxes." Page 249.

³³ Journey from Aleppo to Beer, April 20, where he tells us, "that the river is as broad as the Thames at London, and that a long bullet-gun could not shoot a ball over it, but it dropt into the water." By this it appears that it is a great deal broader than the Thames at London, for a common fowling-piece will carry a ball, without any elevation, more than twice the breadth of the Thames at Blackwall. At London Bridge the Thames is 900 feet over: now, supposing it 100 feet more at Blackwall, will make it 1,000; that doubled is 2,000, almost three stadia and one-half; so that we may conclude this at least to be the breadth of the Euphrates at Jerabolus. Pliny says, Book V. cap. xxiv. "*Arabiam inde læva, Oreon dictam regionem, trischœna mensura, dextraque Commagenem, disterninat (nempe Euphrates.)*" P. Hardouin observes upon the place, "*Amnem ibi latum esse ait schœnis tribus.*" Now Pliny assures us, Book XII. cap. xiv. the schœnus consists of forty stadia, or five Roman miles; so that, according to Hardouin, the Euphrates must be fourteen English miles broad at Bir. However, as the sentence will admit another construction, we have no occasion to father such an absurdity upon Pliny. I do not know whether it is worth while to take notice of a small mistake or two in Delisle's maps. He makes the Euphrates 500 feet broad, and the pyramid near Larissa upon the Tigris 200 paces high and 100 paces square. Whereas Xenophon makes the river four stadia broad, i. e. 500 paces, or 2,500 feet, and the pyramid 100 feet square, and 200 high.

³⁴ I conclude so, from the many beautiful ruins found there, and especially from the remains of a bridge said to be thereabouts. Vide Maundrel, *ubi supra*.

³⁵ Scripture Chronology, Book I. cap. i.

³⁶ The Arabians place it $33^{\circ} 20'$. Bochart in $34^{\circ} 15'$.

³⁷ The French place Paris in 20° long. and therefore Mr. Delisle makes the longitude of Alexandretta to be but $54^{\circ} 15'$. However, as we reckon London 19° east from Ferro, and Paris $2^{\circ} 25'$ from London, and as Mr. Chazelles found the meridian distance between Paris and Scanderûn to be $2^{\text{h}} 16'$, i. e. 34° , so the true longitude of Scanderûn is $55^{\circ} 25'$.

³⁸ This way of reckoning is, in some measure, confirmed by Josephus, Antiq. VIII. cap. vi. where he says that Thadomira (that is Palmyra) was one day's journey from the Euphrates, and six from Great Babylon. Here, by day's journey, is meant the horseman's journey, or sixty miles; so that from the Euphrates over-against Palmyra to Babylon is 300 miles. But Thapsacus stands somewhat more to the west than this part of the Euphrates; that is, the course of the river is S. and by E, and S. S. E.; so that 300 geographical miles must be pretty near the true meridian distance between Thapsacus and Babylon. Pliny indeed affirms, Book V. cap. xxv. that from Palmyra to Seleucia upon the Tigris is 337 miles; but as other copies say 537, I must leave it to the decision of the critics.

³⁹ Mr. Delisle makes the distance between Babylon and Scanderûn to be pretty near equal to that between Scanderûn and Smyrna. Now, the meridian distance of the two latter of these places is, by observation, found to be nine degrees; so, as the difference of latitude is not material, upon this computation the difference of longitude between Scanderûn and Babylon is nine degrees.

⁴⁰ Plutarch (in Artax.), speaking of the loss of this battle, lays all the blame upon Clearchus, for not, according to Cyrus's order, bringing his Greeks to front the king's centre; but I think the conduct of Clearchus may be easily vindicated. This general very well knew, from the mock-encounter at Tyriæum, what was to be expected from the rest of Cyrus's forces, viz. that they would run away at the first onset, and himself, with his handful of Greeks, be left alone to encounter

with the king's army. A handful they might be called with the greatest propriety, being 13,000 against 1,200,000 (for so many the king's army was supposed to consist of). Clearchus therefore kept close to the river, with a design not to be surrounded by such prodigious numbers; which, had it happened at the beginning of the battle, before the Greeks had tried the Persian metal, might have disheartened his men, and lost the day. Had Cyrus relied upon Clearchus's promise (viz. that "all should go well"), and waited patiently for the event, all had gone well, he had won the day, and been king of Persia.

⁴¹ I suppose here that they were conducted to the left towards the Tigris, and not suffered to pass within sight of Babylon.

⁴² He does not indeed give it any name in his maps of this expedition, but in his other maps he makes it the lake of Van.

⁴³ Part II. cap. ix. This must be understood with some allowance: Rauwolf assures us he was in very great fear while he forded this river, and therefore might think it four or five times bigger than in reality it is.

⁴⁴ This place is still known by the name of *Harpel*. Rauwolf, *ubi sup.*

⁴⁵ Entitled, "Determination Geographique de la Scituation & de l'Etendue de Pays Traversés," &c. in the Memoirs of the Acad. Royal, An. 1721, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Mr. Delisle brings Herodotus to prove, that there were in these parts three rivers of the name of Tigris. This he does in order to shew, that the Greeks did not approach near the head of the Tigris, properly so called, viz. that which flows by Diarbekir, but supposes it the most easterly branch. However, he might have saved himself a good deal of trouble, had he attended to Xenophon's words, who does not say they passed the head of the Tigris, or were near it, but only, that "they were now advanced above it." Book IV. p. 130.

⁴⁷ This places Ertzrum farther to the east than any geographer I can meet with will allow. I am surprised that neither Mr. D'Anville, nor the English editor of Du Halde's China, in folio, take any notice at all of this circumstance, in determining the situation of the Caspian Sea. The greatest lon-

gitude they are willing to allow to Astrakhan is but $68^{\circ} 55'$, very little more than this of Ertzrum; whereas there must be at least four degrees' difference between them. Observations are material evidences in geography. The Acad. Royal, An. 1699, assures us, these situations were grounded upon observations. How, therefore, this article could slip the notice of persons so much interested in the discovery of it, is to me very surprising. Not but that I have reasons (to myself very strong ones) to think that those places are not situated so far to the east: however, as there is no reasoning against facts, I desist.

⁴⁸ Tavernier says it is four days' journey for the horse-caravan; but then I imagine he must reckon the passing of the river into the time. Book II. cap. iv.

⁴⁹ This cannot be, because had they advanced up the Tigris as far as Mousul, they must have passed the Lycus, which, as it is larger than any river they passed after the Tigris, Xenophon must have taken notice of it.

⁵⁰ Especially if we allow, as above, three degrees for their westing on the banks of the Tigris. There is in Xenophon one material article not taken notice of by Mr. Delisle, and that is, that where they crossed the river Teleboas, the country was called the Western Armenia; which name would but ill suit with the country two hundred miles east of Ertzrum.

⁵¹ Arrian, who measured the Euxine, makes it from the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus to Trebisonde 7,035 stadia, that is, about 805 miles English. Tournefort does not always mention the distances; but by what he says, we may gather he made it about 800 miles, whereas Tavernier makes it 970 miles, and Gimelli 900.

⁵² His meaning is, that upon his supposition it agrees pretty well with modern observations, i. e. from Babylon to Trebisonde is about half so much as Xenophon makes it.

⁵³ One step or common stride in walking; whereas the pace was the return of the same foot, or two strides.

⁵⁴ Καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὅσοι τὸ μέγεθος ἀναλογίζεσθαι περι-
ρῶνται τῆς περιφερείας, εἰς τετράρακοντα λέγουσιν εἶναι μυριάδας
σταδίων. Which cannot be understood that any one had actually measured the contents of a degree, but only that

they had guessed at the whole by computation or reckoning.

⁵⁵ Acad. Royal, Anno 1694. Pliny calls this undertaking of Eratosthenes, "Improbum ausum;" but adds, "Verum ita subtili argumentatione comprehensum, ut pudeat non credere." Book II. cap. cviii.

⁵⁶ Aristotle died in the 114th Olympiad, and Eratosthenes was born in the 126th.

⁵⁷ I cannot pass without taking notice of a mistake in Tournefort, who says, Vol. II. Let. VI. that one of these branches runs a day's journey to the south of Ertzrum, the other a day and a half or two days' journey to the north of it; whereas, he has told us but just before, that the bridge of Elijah is but about six miles from Ertzrum. It is well known that, in the East, great distances are measured by days' journeys, small ones by hours: it is therefore probable, that in discoursing about the country, he was told it was so many hours' journey, which he put down *journé*, without distinguishing it from a day's journey. Calmet says, that Strabo and Pliny differ from each other almost in every thing concerning the Euphrates. For that Pliny represents it first running to the south, and then to the west; whereas Strabo affirms that it first runs west, and then south. However, upon examination, I believe they will be found to agree exactly, and that Calmet has mistaken Pliny's meaning. This great naturalist, Book V. cap. xxiv. compares Mount Taurus and the Euphrates to two great champions contending with each other: that the mountain, though twelve miles broad, is not able to stop the river; but, however, prevails so far, as not to suffer it to have its way, but diverts it to the south, whereas before its course was westward.

⁵⁸ Tournefort, Vol. II. Let. VI.

⁵⁹ Book II. page 52.

⁶⁰ Book XI. page 524. Where he says he led him round about more than double the direct way, ἐποίησε πλεον ἢ διπλασίαν τῆς εὐθείας, διὰ ὁρῶν, καὶ ἀνοδιῶν, καὶ κυκλοπορείας.

⁶¹ That is, had he conducted them to towns where they could get provisions. But instead of this, he carried them into desolate countries, where he concluded they must of course be starved; where the first people they could meet

with were the Toachians and Chalybians, who kept all their provisions in such fastnesses, as the bailiff might imagine it was impossible for them to force. And, indeed, he was not much mistaken in his aim; for had they not with great courage, and no small address, stormed the Taochian mountain, it is more than probable they had every one perished with hunger.

⁶² The villages of this country do retain the same form to this day. Gimelli, Part I, Book III. cap. iii. tells us, "He was in dispute with himself, whether to call the houses caves or stables, for they are dug out of the earth: that the roofs are upon a level with the surface of the earth; and that the men and beasts lodge together in them."

⁶³ The main of his argument consists in this, that Constantine Porphyrogenetes says, that the Phasis run near Theodosiopolis, that it parted his empire from Iberia, and was likewise called Erax. Now, Theodosiopolis stood near the place where Ertzrum now stands; and therefore, if the Colchian Phasis rises somewhere in this country, and flows north, it would run as near that city as the Araxes could do, and would naturally serve as a boundary between Iberia and the Greek empire. As to the name, it proves very little; for as *aras* signifies a rapid stream, the Persians applied it to a great many rivers.

⁶⁴ Pliny, Book VI. cap. ix. says, "Araxes eodem monte oritur, quo Euphrates VI. Mill. Passuum intervallo;" which is confirmed, in some measure, by Tournefort, who tells us, Vol. II, lib. vii, that the Araxes runs by Assancala, which is but six hours from Ertzrum.

⁶⁵ Book X. page 498, and again Book XI. page 529, he says, Ποταμοὶ δὲ πλείους μὲν εἰσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γνωριμώτατοι δὲ Φάσις μὲν καὶ Λύκος.

⁶⁶ I can find nothing to convince me that the Hebrews ever used the *י* as a consonant. The *ז* pronounced soft, as some European nations do at present, supplied the place of *v*. Thus תְּבַלֵּית *Thubal Cain* is Vulcan; שֶׁבַע *shebang* is seven, and the like. The *י* is, I imagine, the *waw*, the *a* or *u* of the East, and is always used as a vowel.

⁶⁷ Book XXXIII. cap. iii.

⁶⁸ Cap. xv. speaking of Scythia, "Istic & Crystallus, quem

licet pars major Europæ & particula Asiæ subministrat, pretiosissimum tamen Scythia edit."

⁶⁹ Book XXXVII. cap. v.

⁷⁰ The original of this mistake seems to me to come from Pliny, who says, that the Euphrates is divided (vide page cxv.); that one branch falls into the Tigris at Seleucia, the other runs through Babylon, and is lost in the bogs. However, in another place he informs us, that this part of the river which runs through Seleucia was an artificial canal, Book VI. cap. xxviii. he calls it Fossa, and tells us who it was that made it. This was known afterwards by the name of *Naar Malcha*, "the King's River." Strabo tells us the land was so rotten, that the canals which circulated the water were very subject to fill up; so that Alexander caused new ones to be made. At the junction of one of these with the Tigris, Seleucia was built. Trajan and Severus afterwards cleansed this canal for the passage of their fleets to the Tigris. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxiv, cap. 6, says, "Id. (viz. "flumen regium," which he also calls "fossile flumen"), "antehac Trajanus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo, fodiri in modum canalis amplissimi studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusis, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent." Notwithstanding which, when Julian the Apostate came hither, he was forced to cleanse it. Zosimus indeed says (Book III.) the King's River had water in it, but not enough to carry the emperor's fleet without being cleansed: whereas Amm. Marcell. positively affirms that it was quite dry; all which plainly proves that this was not the natural course of the river. Rauwolf and Herbert both affirm that these two rivers meet a little below Babylon; but as they took it upon trust, we must believe Tavernier, who was an eye-witness. Besides, did the rivers join so near Bagdat, why do they complain of selling their boats for a trifle at Elago? They might carry them to Bagdat, and have as good a market for them as any in the East. But the truth is, the canals are choked up, and there is no getting thither in a boat, but by going above 800 miles round about.

⁷¹ Pliny, Book VI. cap. xxvii. "Inter duorum amnium ostia xxv. mill. passuum fuere, aut (ut alii tradunt) vii. mill. utroque navigabili: sed longo tempore Euphratem præcludere

Orcheni & accolæ agros rigantes; nec nisi Pasitigri defertur in mare."

⁷² Book II. cap. viii.

⁷³ Dissert. page xiv.

⁷⁴ So that Mr. Hutchinson had no occasion to correct Diodorus.

⁷⁵ Book II. cap. xliii. Τὸ μὲν ἐν πρῶτον (Sc. Σκύθαι) παρὰ τὸν Αῤῥάξην ποταμὸν ὀλίγοι κατωκιν παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καταφρονέμενοι.

⁷⁶ Diodorus Siculus says fifteen days: but in this, and several other particulars, he differs so much from Xenophon, that I suspect, in drawing up of the account of this expedition, he made use of some other author.

⁷⁷ I take no notice of the places they touched at, because Mr. Spelman's notes are as full, as can be desired.

⁷⁸ Vol. I. page 9.

⁷⁹ Page 23, &c.

⁸⁰ Page 25, &c.

⁸¹ What puts this beyond all dispute, are the distances, which are only computed to Cotyora: for from Ephesus to the battle are 16,050, and from the battle to Cotyora 18,600 stadia, in all 34,650, the whole sum mentioned by Xenophon at the end of the Book, without taking any notice of their travels after they left Cotyora.

⁸² Introduction, page ix.

⁸³ That is, the first month after the summer solstice.

⁸⁴ "Cotyora venerant octo (vel quinque potius, ut series historiæ postulare videtur) post pugnam mensibus."

⁸⁵ Usher copies Diodorus in all these particulars, and yet afterwards says, "commissa pugna est sub initium Anni 4, Olympiadis xciv."

⁸⁶ He supposes that Cyrus, having spent the summer and winter in preparing for the expedition, set out in the spring of the 4th of the 94th Olympiad, and that the Greeks returned late in the spring following.

⁸⁷ Book V. page 167.

⁸⁸ This work came out under the name of Themistogenes of Syracuse; and Xenophon himself refers to it under this title in the Second Book of his History. But the world was soon convinced who was the true author; for there are not

only several passages in it which Xenophon himself alone could know, but it is likewise penned with so much harmony and sweetness, as could flow from no other than the Attic Bee. Indeed, it is the opinion of some learned men, that Themistogenes did write an account of the expedition, which Xenophon refers to, as above, but that he afterwards wrote one himself, which is the work we have now extant. However, we shall find this very unlikely, when we reflect that our *Ἀνάβασις* was wrote while Xenophon lived in ease and peace at Scilus, and his sons were alive: whereas his Greek History was not drawn up till after the battle of Mantinea; when Scilus was destroyed, Xenophon removed to Corinth, and one of his sons slain: so that Scilus was destroyed some time before this battle, so the Expedition must be written before the Greek History.

⁸⁹ Book VII. page 274.

⁹⁰ It is probable he wrote this history to vindicate his honour, and published it under another name, to avoid the imputation of vanity. There were other accounts, it is likely, of this expedition, which either blamed his conduct, or were silent as to his merit. What confirms me in this opinion, is the relation which Diodorus Siculus gives of the same transactions, which not only varies from Xenophon in abundance of particulars, but never mentions his name where he most deserves it, viz. in conducting the most memorable retreat that ever was performed in any period of time. This he attributes to Cheirisophus, by saying that he was chosen general, Book XIV. cap. v. The only time I can find he mentions Xenophon's name, is his warring against the Thracians, Book XIV. cap. vi.

⁹¹ Εγὼ ἂν τὸν ἐκ ποίᾳς πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; ὃ γὰρ ἐγὼ γ' εἶμι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, εἰάν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις; where it is plain by *πρεσβύτερος*, that he looked upon himself as too young to command.

⁹² Book II. page 48.

⁹³ Page 51. As the oldest officer, the rest being without experience. If we may guess at the rest by the ages of those mentioned, they must all be young men. Proxenus was but thirty, Agias and Socrates about forty, when put to death.

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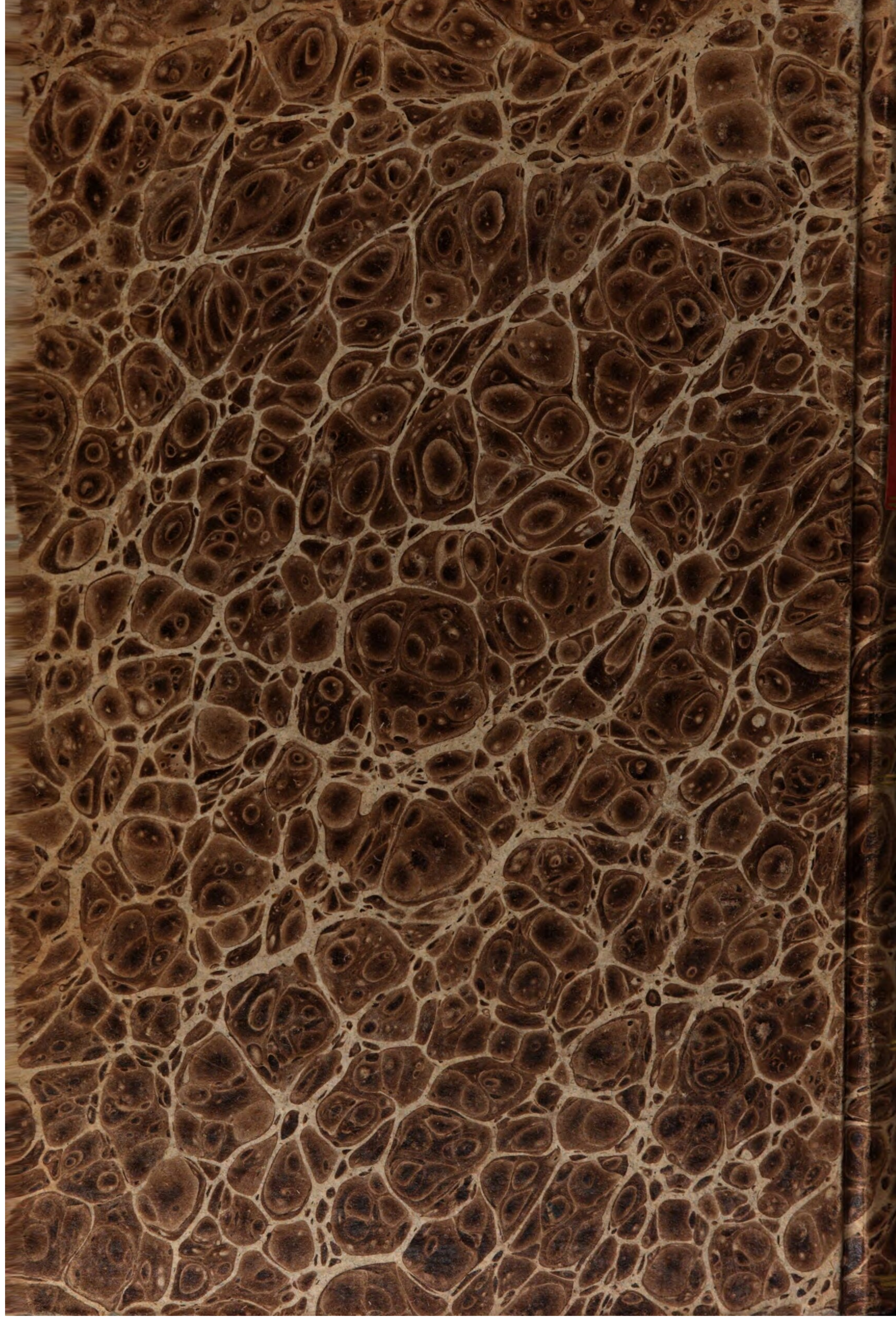
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